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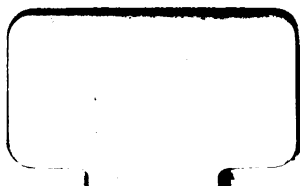


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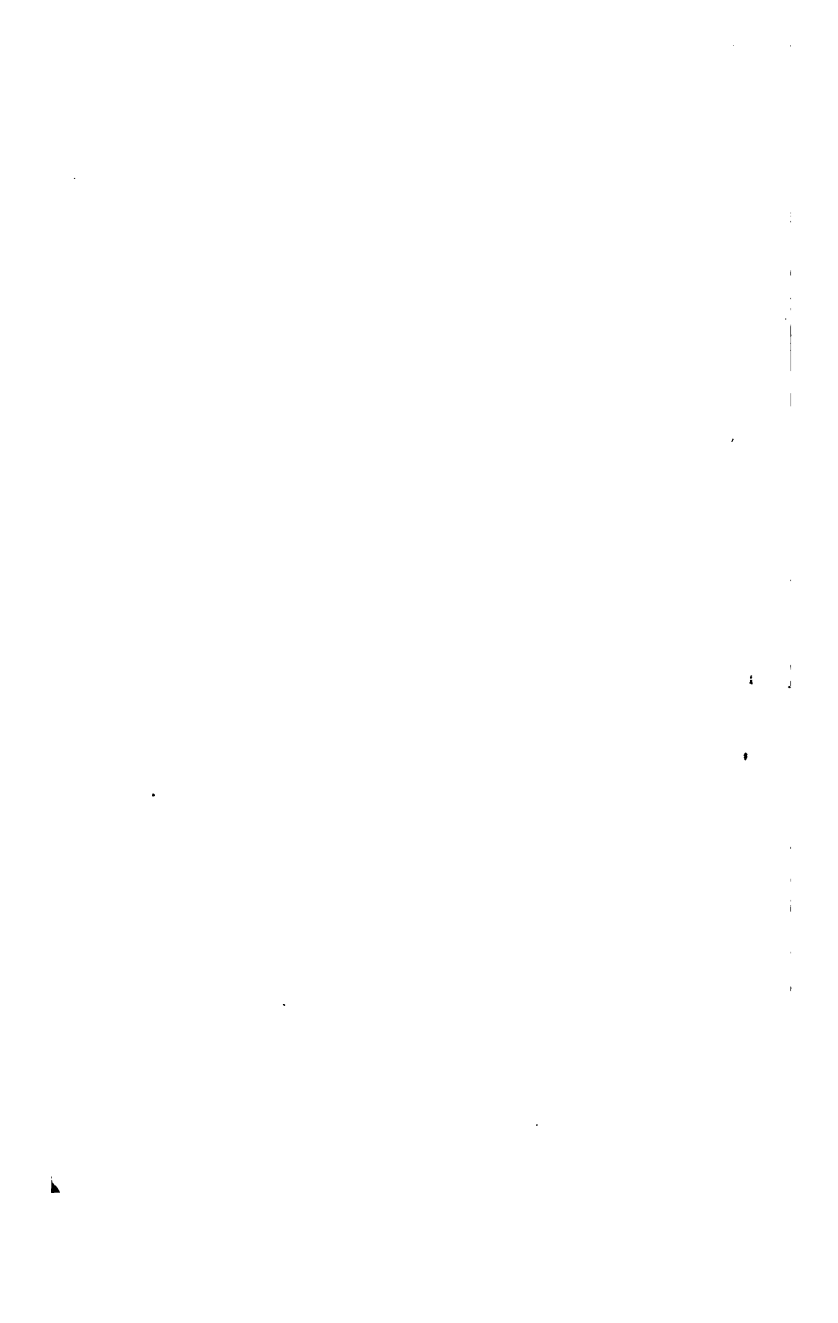
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HISTORY
OF
CHRISTIAN MISSIONS,
FROM THE
REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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**BY JAMES A. HUIE,**  
Author of "The History of the Jews" and "Records of Female Piety."  
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"Jesus said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel
to every creature."—Mark, xvi. 15.

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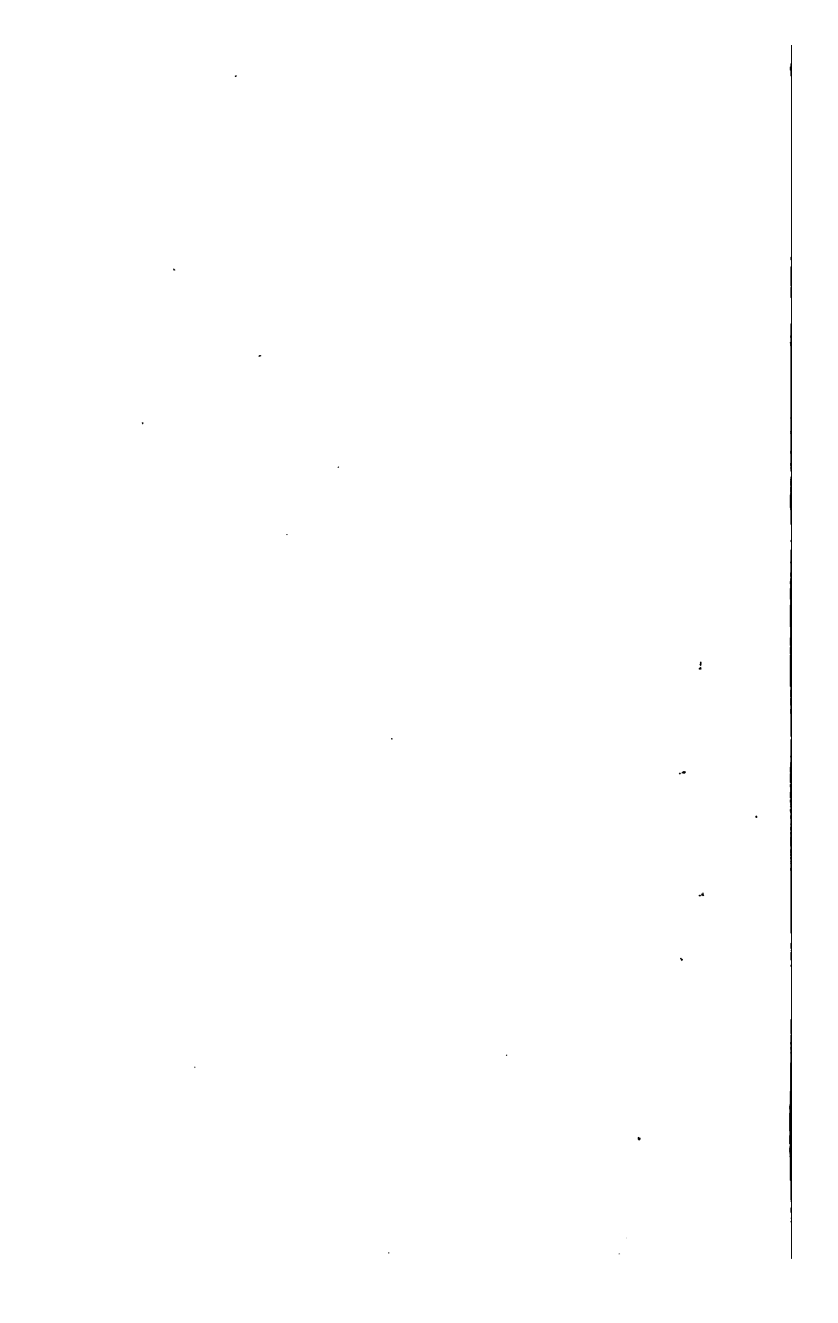
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PREFACE.

IN the following Work, it has been the aim of the Author to present, in a moderate compass, a narrative of the chief events which mark the history of Missions in modern times. He has endeavoured to compress within the limits of a single volume the most interesting records of those attempts which, with more or less success, have been made to win the heathen to the faith of Christ. As he has always referred to his authorities, he does not deem it necessary here to state the sources of that information, which lies scattered over a variety of volumes and periodicals. It has been his earnest desire to study impartiality, and to devote to the missionary labours of different communions that share of attention which they may justly claim. In conclusion, he cannot but express a hope that this narrative of past efforts may, by the blessing of God, in some measure tend to incite to future exertions.

EDINBURGH, *May* 1842.



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HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE design of Religious Missions is to bring to the knowledge of the true God those who are ignorant of his will and strangers to his promises. The reason why such efforts are necessary is to be found in the apostasy of man from his original estate, and in the condition of sin and misery which flows from it. Missionary exertions are an index at once of the lamentable fact that by nature "there is none that doeth good, no not one;" and of the great truth that out of this general mass of ungodliness the Most High has chosen "a seed to serve him," an elect band of witnesses to his truth, and promoters of his glory. The missionary enterprise not merely harmonizes with, but is a natural consequence of piety; for none who have themselves "tasted that the Lord is gracious," and who are aware that the vast majority of the human race are living in a manner utterly at variance with God's commands, can be insensible to the duty of endeavouring, by every means in their power, to bring others to the knowledge of that truth in which they themselves have found peace, comfort, and joy.

While thus a missionary spirit is an invariable re-

sult of the operation of divine grace upon the soul, its manifestations must evidently be various, according to circumstances. In the times of the Mosaic dispensation, when, for wise reasons, it pleased the Almighty to confine the knowledge of himself within the limits of a single nation, such a temper was not annihilated, and could not even be justly said to have had its demonstrations kept in abeyance. In the heart of every one who had been led to see the spiritual meaning of the rites and ceremonies of the Levitical law, there could not but exist a desire to communicate to those around an accurate perception of their true relation to God, and the real end of their existence in this transitory state. While this anxiety for the spiritual improvement of the members of the Jewish church must have been diffused even among the humblest members of Christ's mystical body in those times, it is unquestionable that, to the minds of some, there was presented the prospect of a more glorious order of things, when the worship of Jehovah should no longer be confined to one people. This is manifest from many portions of the ancient Scriptures, where the universality of Messiah's kingdom is declared sometimes in more literal, at other times in more figurative language. While such predictions were delivered by the inspiration of Him who "seeth the end from the beginning," it may well be believed that, at all events among the more enlightened, there would often be breathed such a prayer as that of the Psalmist, "God be merciful unto us, and bless us; and cause his face to shine upon us: that thy way may be known upon earth, thy saving health *among all nations*;"—a prayer in which the divine influence upon any individual is considered to be not simply an end in itself, but a means of procuring spiritual benefits to the whole human race. Such a prayer is a delightful anticipation of the spirit of evangelical times, and forms no unimportant link in the chain of scriptural evidence by which it has been established, "that the *chief end* for which the christian church is constituted—the *lead-*

ing design for which she is made the repository of heavenly blessings—the *great command* under which she is laid—the *supreme function* which she is called on to discharge—is, in the name of her glorified Redeemer, unceasingly to act the part of an evangelist to *all the world.*” The parting words of our Lord to his disciples were, “all power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.” Here is at once the commission and the encouragement. In consequence there was immediately a strong manifestation of a missionary spirit, and, as it has been well remarked, “the Redeemer’s parting command seemed to ring in every ear, and vitally influence every feeling and faculty of the renewed soul.” The gift of tongues and the power of working miracles were communicated to the teachers of the gospel as means indispensable for attesting its claims in its primary stage; and the New Testament itself records the success of its promulgation. Nor did the impulse thus given speedily subside, for at the close of the second century there were few districts of the Roman empire which remained ignorant of the glad tidings of salvation. The zeal of the church carried its members to prosecute the work of evangelisation even into the most remote nations to which the circumstances of the times gave them access. The agency employed in this good work varied according to circumstances. We read, for instance, that Pantænus, a man of great talents and learning, and who, as the head of the catechetical school at Alexandria, occupied a prominent station, cheerfully relinquished all the pleasures of polished society, to preach the gospel among the half-civilized inhabitants of India. On other occasions our holy religion was propagated by means apparently much less likely to be successful. For example, it was made known in Abyssinia by the

instrumentality of a Roman named Frumentius, who, having been in his youth taken prisoner by the natives, was presented to the king, and obtained promotion in his court. Here he employed his influence for the extension of the truth, procured the building of a church, and had the pleasure of seeing some natives converted to Christianity. Returning at length to his own country, he informed Athanasius that there was a great probability of the gospel's taking deep root in Abyssinia, if properly qualified missionaries were sent thither. The illustrious prelate replied, that no one could be so well fitted to superintend the contemplated mission as himself. Frumentius was accordingly consecrated a bishop, and in this new capacity resumed the labours which he had commenced as a simple layman. His exertions were attended with remarkable success; and he had soon the satisfaction of seeing "Ethiopia stretch out her hands to God." Nearly about the same period Iberia, the modern Georgia, received its first lessons of christian truth from a pious woman, taken prisoner in a marauding excursion. Her sanctity of life impressed the hearts of the king and queen, and disposed them to receive the gospel. They despatched an embassy to Constantine the Great, requesting that a supply of christian teachers might be sent to them; and their desire was complied with.

Even after the evangelical faith had become miserably corrupted, and ignorant superstition had almost universally taken the place of enlightened devotion, there were not wanting instances of ardent zeal and successful effort in the cause of missions. The eighth century has been characterized by Milner as the "maturity of Antichrist;" and yet even in this dark and dismal age we find sufficient evidence that there still existed a warm interest in the salvation of those who were living amidst the pollutions of heathen idolatry. One name stands out in bold relief against the grovelling folly of this era; and our countrymen may rejoice that its possessor was a Briton. Boniface was occupied from youth to a very advanced age in proclaiming redemption to

the pagan inhabitants of northern Germany, where, in the end, he was treacherously murdered by the very barbarians for whose eternal welfare he had so long prayed and toiled.

At length the slumbers of that church, to whose general inefficiency such men as he were but rare exceptions, were broken by the Reformation, and evangelical truth was again disclosed in all that strength and beauty which in former times had drawn so many nations into an acknowledgment of its claims. But, signal as was the improvement of that memorable era, the difficulties encountered in the establishment of the Protestant faith were too numerous to admit of any attention being paid to the spiritual wants of heathen countries. It was not until those obstacles were surmounted, and the cause of true religion placed upon a firm basis, that any reasonable expectation could be formed of a successful movement against the superstitions which prevailed "in the dark places of the earth." In the mean time, while Romanism was maintaining a desperate conflict with the principles of a purer creed at home, in pagan lands its emissaries were striving, in the spirit of ardent zeal, to evince that the aspersions cast upon their communion by her enemies were altogether groundless, inasmuch as she was testifying to the truth, not only in regions where her voice was listened to with deep reverence and submission, but amidst scenes where her authority was not acknowledged. While carried away by the reports, often ill founded, which these missionaries sent home of the success of their labours, and not adverting to the difference of circumstances which prevented the reformed ministers from embarking in a similar enterprise, it might be excusable in a conscientious Roman Catholic to conclude that the exertions of his church marked her out as the true representative of Him who was to have "the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession." Nor would these feelings have lost aught of their strength, if such an individual had lived to see the apathy with which, till a

comparatively recent period, Protestants regarded the miserable condition of unchristianized lands. Long after the time when external prosperity might have disposed men to show their gratitude to Him from whom they had received the precious gift, by sending the knowledge of His gospel to less favoured nations, did they remain unmindful of the state of those who were still strangers to the covenant of promise. It is well for the modern churches that a different tale can now be told. It is to us a subject of deep thanksgiving that many thousands of perishing heathen have been brought to the knowledge and reception of "the truth as it is in Jesus" through the instrumentality of British Christians. We may remember with pleasure that it is, in a great measure, by means of the inhabitants of this favoured land that the gospel message is now so widely heard; and the address of the poet to the extending church is nearly applicable :—

"'Tis true, nor winter stays thy growth,
Nor torrid summer's sickly smile;
The flashing billows of the south
Break not upon so lone an isle
But thou, rich vine, art grafted there,
The fruit of death or life to bear,
Yielding a surer witness every day
To thine Almighty Author and his stedfast sway."

CHAPTER I.

Missions of the Romish Church.

Romish Missions to the East Indies—Francis Xavier—His early Life—Voyage to India—Labours among the Paravas—Method of proceeding—Visits Malacca, Ternate, and the Del Moro Islands—Proceeds to Japan—Indefatigable Exertions there—Projects a Mission to China, but dies before reaching that Country—The Emperor Akbar—Unsuccessful Attempts to convert him—Madura Mission—Arts of the Jesuits—Present State of Romanism in India.

AN account of the various efforts made for the conversion of the heathen would be incomplete unless it embraced the early missions of the Romish church. These are worthy of attentive consideration ; and many lessons of humility, of self-denial, and of gratitude for a more evangelical faith, may be derived from tracing their progress.

It is generally admitted that the order of Jesuits has been the most powerful of all adversaries to the progress of the Reformation. Their perfect organization, their learning, and their thorough devotedness to the interests of the holy see, have secured to them this bad pre-eminence. History bears testimony to the truth of Robertson's remark, that they "have made use of every art and have employed every weapon against the Protestants ; they have set themselves in opposition to every gentle tolerating measure in their favour ; they have incessantly stirred up against them all the rage of ecclesiastical and civil persecution."

But the attention of this celebrated order was by no means confined to efforts for maintaining the power of the papacy in Europe, or to exertions for regaining

those provinces which had burst asunder the fetters of Romish thralldom. Ignatius Loyola, in 1540, received from the pope a formal authority for establishing the Society of Jesus ; and in the following year, Francis Xavier, the first and most renowned of its missionaries, set sail for India with the design of spreading the knowledge of the christian religion among the natives of that extensive and populous country. This celebrated person, born in the year 1506, was the son of noble parents ; and his birthplace was the family castle of Xavier, situated at the foot of the Pyrenees, about seven or eight leagues from Pampeluna. The contemplative turn of his mind was early manifested by the delight which he took in the romantic scenery of his native land. At the age of eighteen he removed to Paris, to prosecute his studies, and was so successful in the acquisition of knowledge that, on taking his degree of Master of Arts, he was chosen to read lectures on Aristotle, which procured for him a high reputation. Soon after, Loyola, who happened to be in the French metropolis, formed an acquaintance with him ; and in his penetrating mind he speedily discovered a fit instrument for the advancement of his designs. With some difficulty, and by the employment of the most dexterous arts, he persuaded his new friend to renounce all schemes of literary ambition, and devote himself to the service of the church. He likewise prevented him from becoming a convert to the reformed faith, to which, it is said, he was at that time somewhat inclined. Having engaged more earnestly in the study of divinity, and solemnly consecrated himself to the interests of the papacy, he set out for Venice, whither Ignatius had preceded him. Being here ordained to the priesthood, he laboured some years in various cities of Italy with much zeal, and, according to the statement of his panegyrists, with remarkable success. While officiating at Rome, under the immediate authority of the holy see, Govea, a Portuguese, came as ambassador from his sovereign John III. He had formerly been president of the College of St Barbara at Paris,

where he had known both Loyola and Xavier ; and now, renewing his acquaintance with them, he was soon convinced that the fervour of their zeal rendered them suitable instruments for the prosecution of his royal master's intention of evangelizing India. The king acquiesced in the recommendation of his envoy ; but as the presence of Ignatius in the papal capital was necessary for the interests of his order, a priest named Rodriguez was named in his place. At parting from Loyola, the young missionary was thus addressed by him, " Go, my brother, rejoice that you have not here a narrow Palestine or a province of Asia in prospect, but a vast extent of ground, and innumerable kingdoms. An entire world is reserved for your endeavours ; and nothing but so large a field is worthy of your courage and your zeal. The voice of God calls you ; kindle in those unknown nations the sacred flame that burns in yourself." While it was unquestionably right to give to his friend the encouragement which all men need when about to enter on any perilous enterprise, Loyola might have mingled with his exhortations some words fitted to excite those sentiments of devout reliance upon the grace of the Holy Spirit, without which the most unwearied labours must be regarded, in the sight of God, as presumptuous.

Xavier journeyed to Lisbon by the way of the Alps and Pyrenees. He passed near his birthplace, but, lest his resolution should be shaken, he refused to visit his mother and kinsmen. On his arrival at the Portuguese capital, declining the apartments in the palace which were offered to him, he took up his abode in the hospital of All Saints, and for several months indefatigably laboured in various departments of spiritual duty. At last, the fleet destined for the Indies being ready, he set sail in April 1541, having received four briefs from Rome, two of which constituted him papal nuncio in the East, and the others recommended him to the King of Ethiopia, and the princes of the islands at which he might happen to touch on his passage. It is recorded that, having obtained a part of the New Testament, a

book probably rare in Lisbon, he resolved to take it with him, imagining that it might possibly be of use!—a most impressive instance of the little estimation in which the revealed Word of God was held even among the best of Romanists.

The admiral's vessel, in which he sailed, had on board the new viceroy of the Indies; while the crew and passengers amounted to at least a thousand souls, whose welfare occupied the missionary's daily thoughts, and called forth his constant exertions. Various diseases broke out in the ship; and his extreme attention to the sick and dying brought on a malignant fever which nearly cost him his life. After a voyage of thirteen months, the fleet arrived at Goa, and on presenting the papal briefs, he was received with much kindness by D'Albuquerque the bishop. He passed the night after landing shut up in one of the churches, and engaged in earnest prayer for the success of his mission. His first labours were among the Portuguese population, whose irreligion and profligacy presented a very formidable bar to the spread of the gospel among the heathen. A remarkable reformation of manners soon took place; and, it is to be hoped, that some true conversions were the consequence of such zealous efforts. At the same time, by frequent communications with the natives who repaired to the viceroyal city, he obtained a limited acquaintance with their language, manners, and customs. In the following October, he set out on his first professional expedition, the object of which was the conversion of the Paravas, a people on the Comorin coast, chiefly occupied in the pearl fishery. His companions were two young ecclesiastics of Goa, who had a slight knowledge of the Malabar tongue. Becoming dissatisfied with his interpreters, he confronted with them some natives who could speak Portuguese, and then consulted both parties for many days together. He contrived to translate for the benefit of his converts the words used on making the sign of the cross, the apostles' creed, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, the salutation of the angel, the *con-*

fiteor, the *salve regina*, and the whole of the catechism. Having committed to memory this strange mixture of truth and error, he visited the villages on the coast, which were in number about thirty. According to his own account, he went about with his bell in his hand, and gathering together all he met, both old and young, he expounded to them the christian doctrine. The children appear to have received it most readily. On the Lord's Day, he assembled his hearers in the chapel, and began by confessing the Trinity in Unity of the Divine Nature ; after which he pronounced with a distinct voice the Lord's prayer, the angelical salutation, and the apostles' creed, which were repeated after him by the assembled people. He then recited the creed, article by article, requiring of his audience a belief in each singly, and then passed to the ten commandments, as a summary of religious duties. Prayers were mingled with these exercises, in which it is melancholy to observe the prevalence of superstition. Thus, after a petition to the Lord Jesus Christ, he added at each clause of the creed " holy Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, obtain for us, from thy beloved Son, to believe this article without any doubt concerning it." The decalogue was interspersed with similar unscriptural supplications.

Xavier spent nearly fifteen months in going from village to village, instructing the Paravas in the manner now stated ; and, at his departure, gave to the most intelligent of his converts written lessons of doctrine and duty, which they, in the capacity of catechists, were to communicate to their countrymen on Sundays and festivals. These teachers were provided with salaries out of the public treasury ; and churches were erected in the most populous districts. The missionary, whose labours, while successful among the common people, had failed in converting the Brahmins, returned to Goa in January 1544, along with some of the most promising youths, whom he placed in a seminary recently founded for the education of natives, and possessed by

the Jesuit order under the title of the College of St Paul. Soon afterwards, he again departed for the south with three companions, to each of whom he assigned a district on the coast, while he himself penetrated into the interior. Being ignorant of the Tamul language, and destitute of an interpreter, he spent his time in baptizing children, and paying attention to the wants of the sick. His food was rice and water, the fare of the meanest Hindoos. Meanwhile, the Badages, a powerful tribe of freebooters in the district of Bismagar, made an incursion into the country of the Paravas, whom they forced to flee into desert islands, where numbers perished from the combined effects of heat and hunger. On hearing this afflicting intelligence, he passed over to the western coast, where there was a Portuguese colony, from whom he obtained twenty barks laden with arms and provisions, with which he hastened to the succour of the unfortunate natives. He brought them back in safety to their dwellings, from which the Badages had already retired. Having raised a sum of money by subscription among the Christians to reimburse their losses, and leaving two missionaries with them, he visited the kingdom of Travancore, where he appears to have acted with the most precipitate zeal. In many instances he baptized in a single day all the inhabitants of a populous village; and he hailed, as a sure proof of conversion, the eagerness of his hearers to demolish their former temples. By his labours he provoked the enmity of the Brahmins, and more than once narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of their emissaries. In the midst of his exertions Travancore was invaded by the Badages, who drove before them the unfortunate occupants of the whole maritime district. The rajah assembled the Nayrs or military caste, and prepared to give the assailants battle; but his efforts were superseded by the courage of Xavier, who advanced to meet the enemy with a crucifix in his hand, at the head of a body of his converts. When he had arrived near enough to be heard he called out with a commanding tone, "I forbid

you, in the name of the living God, to pass further, and on his part command you to return the way you came." Amazed at the boldness of the unarmed European, the barbarians stood for some time hesitating what they should do, and at last with one consent retired from the field. This heroic deed, as might be expected, spread his reputation far and wide.*

At this period he wrote to the doctors of the Sorbonne, inviting them to co-operate with him in his arduous enterprise; but his letter was read to that learned body without producing any other result than admiration of the zeal displayed by its author. He now paid a third visit to the Paravas, and rejoiced to find the number of converts increasing under the tuition of the missionaries whom he had left among them. He was unwearied in his labours by day, and yet allowed himself only three hours' repose in bed. Nay, it is said "he often passed the night in the open air, and nothing so much elevated his soul to God as the view of heaven spangled over and sowed as it were with stars." We may trust that in the spirit of that vital religion which "elevates and divinely irradiates all visible objects, by instituting the whole into one vast magazine of types and emblems which body forth a faithful, though faint, expression and pattern of invisible truths," he often felt his thoughts raised to Him by whom God "made the worlds," and who has summed up the list of his figurative titles by proclaiming himself, in the last page of revelation, as "the bright and morning star."

In the midst of his labours among the Paravas, he went by invitation to the island of Manar, where he succeeded in making many converts; who afterwards, refusing to renounce the new faith, fell victims to the rage of the heathen rajah of Jaffnapatam.

In the following year, 1545, being prevented by westerly winds from returning to the coast of Trav-

* Hough's Christianity in India, vol. i. p. 172-184. Carne's Lives of Roman Catholic Missionaries, p. 48-59.

core, Xavier sailed for Malacca, where he arrived on the 25th of September. Here he effected a reformation of manners similar to that which he had accomplished at Goa ; but having small success among the idolaters and Mohammedans, he proceeded to Amboyna, where he converted a great number. He built churches in the villages, and selected the most intelligent natives to officiate in them until regular missionaries should be sent. His next destination was the Molucca group, and after weathering a terrible storm he landed in Ternate, and had the satisfaction of converting Neachilé, widow of Boliefe, king of the island. Having been stript of her dominions, and seen her sons perish by the intrigues of the Portuguese, she lived in retirement, retaining much of the haughtiness of her former rank. After long reasoning, he succeeded in convincing her of the truth of Christianity ; and the marked improvement of temper and conduct consequent upon this religious change procured for the fallen princess a reverence not accorded to her in the day of prosperity.

Hearing of the barbarous character of the inhabitants of the Del Moro islands, distant sixty leagues eastward, the missionary determined to visit them, rebuking the inconsiderate affection of his friends who, alarmed for his safety, sought to prevent his departure. Undaunted by the spectacle of eight Portuguese lying massacred on the shore of the first land he visited, he proceeded to address the natives in various ways. He endeavoured to win over some by adding the melody of vocal music to his earnest exhortations, and sought to alarm the more ferocious of his hearers by leading them to the crater of a volcano, and informing them that such horrible gulfs were the abode of damned spirits. As he erected crosses and churches, it is to be presumed that some success attended his labours. In one of the islands, however, he narrowly escaped a violent death, being assaulted with a shower of stones in the midst of his preaching, and obliged to leap upon a log of wood, which floated him across a river. Returning to the Moluccas, he de-

barked at Ternate, and remained there several months, labouring without effect to convert the king, Cacil Aerio, who afterwards became a cruel persecutor of the Christians, and especially of Queen Neachilé, whose faith, however, sustained her amidst all her sufferings. Before quitting this island the zealous Jesuit composed, in Malay, a catechism of the doctrines and duties of Christianity, which was extensively disseminated. Promising to return, he took his departure, followed to the shore by multitudes, whose lamentations went to his heart.

On his arrival at Malacca, he found three missionaries, John Beyra, Nugnez Ribera, and Nicholas Nugnez, bound to the Moluccas. They had sailed from Europe along with seven other individuals of the same order, in consequence of his request to have an additional supply of labourers. While in this city he received a visit from a Japanese nobleman named Anger, who, having killed a person either with intention or by accident, had ever since been haunted by remorse, and after vainly seeking relief from the priests of his own country, went to Malacca by the advice of some Portuguese merchants, who informed him of the piety and success of "the apostle of the Indies." Having accomplished a voyage of 800 leagues, the homicide received consolation from the christian teacher, who sent him with his two attendants to Goa, in order to be more fully instructed before baptism. Visiting Cochin on his way to the same place, Xavier appointed Antonio Criminal general-superintendent of the churches in that district; and assembling the scattered ecclesiastics, he pronounced a charge, exhorting to unity, obedience to their superior, and a course of cautious, patient, and affectionate dealing with the converts under their care. After conciliating the Rajah of Jaffnapatam, and testifying without success against the idolatry of Ramisseram, a celebrated seat of Hindoo superstition, he arrived, in March 1548, at Goa, where, having previously paid a visit to the viceroy Juan de Castro, then in the Gulf of Cambay, he fixed his residence for some time. Here Anger, with his attend-

ants, was baptized by the bishop, and received the name of Paul. The conversations which Xavier held with this chief respecting his native country determined him to visit it; and he forthwith employed himself in making arrangements for his departure. He distributed among the various stations some additional labourers recently arrived from Europe; procured the ordination of several native students educated in the seminary of St Paul; and settled others as catechists. He wrote to the Portuguese monarch, imploring him to send out more clergymen, and completed his preliminary arrangements by appointing Camerise superior-general in his place, Antonio Gomez rector of the seminary at Goa, and Gaspar Barzaens, his ablest assistant, missionary at the important station of Ormuz, a town situated at the entrance of the Persian Gulf.*

In April 1549, he embarked for Japan; and after touching at Malacca, arrived in the middle of August at Congoxima or Coxigana, which was the residence of his convert Paul. In the house of this wealthy friend he remained two months, acquiring a knowledge of the language, into which he translated the apostles' creed, together with an exposition of it. Having obtained leave from the King of Saxuma to preach to his subjects, he laboured to gain converts from the idolatry which, with the exception of a few professors of atheism, was universal in Japan. Besides his public lessons, he conversed with the people, and distributed various elementary works of his own composition; but found it more difficult to convince them of their errors than the Hindoos. Perseverance, however, overcame all obstacles, and he had the satisfaction of beholding many renounce their superstition. After labouring some time at Congoxima, he set out on a journey through the country, with two Jesuits as his attendants. He travelled on foot with his cowl over his head, his staff in his hand, and his writings placed in his cassock, which was of a rusty

* Hough, vol. i. p. 188-202. Carne, p. 62-78.

hue, and carefully mended by his own hand. He met with very different treatment at the places where he arrived. For example, at the castle of Ekandomo, built on the summit of a lofty rock and belonging to a prince, he was hospitably entertained many days, and made several converts ; while at Amanguchi, one of the richest cities in Japan, his instructions were listened to with equal indifference by rich and poor. After suffering the greatest hardships, he found himself at Miaco, the capital of the empire ; but having remained some weeks, and in vain requested an interview with the Dairi, or ecclesiastical emperor, and the Saco, or high-priest, he set out on his return. On again reaching Amanguchi, he presented to the king some European trinkets of exquisite workmanship, and thus obtained full permission to preach to his subjects. During a residence of several months, he, assisted by his companions, succeeded in converting 3000 individuals, in spite of the opposition of the priests or bonzes.

In September 1551, having committed his catechumens to the care of Torrez and Fernandez, he departed on hearing that a Portuguese vessel had arrived at Figen, and intended, after the lapse of a month, to sail for China, to which vast empire his zeal now directed itself. Upon entering the port just mentioned, the King of Fucheo, a city at the distance of a league, received him with the greatest kindness. Xavier embraced the opportunity thus afforded, and laboured incessantly in the work of conversion ; while, to the entreaties of his friends, who conjured him to spare himself, he replied, “ my nourishment, my sleep, my life itself consists in delivering from the tyranny of their sins those precious souls, for whose sake chiefly God has called me from the utmost limits of the earth.” His exertions at last threw him into a languishing fever ; and after his recovery he was placed in imminent danger by an insurrection of the people, instigated by the bonzes, from which he was delivered only by the prompt assistance of the Portuguese. A public disputation, lasting six days, was next held

between him and several priests, who are said to have urged very subtle questions. Almost immediately afterwards the missionary took leave of the king, in November 1551, and sailed for Malacca, where he was received with transports of joy. A merchant named Pereyra furnished him with 30,000 crowns, in order to defray the expenses of his projected voyage ; and, on reaching Goa, he found the intelligence from the scene of his former labours very satisfactory.

At his entreaty, the viceroy bestowed on Pereyra the title of ambassador to China, and the new envoy collected a great number of costly presents for the emperor of that extensive country. Having constituted Barzaens rector of the college and vice-provincial of the Indies, and written letters to the King of Portugal as well as to Loyola, he assembled the clergy and students by night in the magnificent church of Goa, and gave them his last instructions. With three ecclesiastics he set sail in the Santa Cruz ; but on his arrival at Malacca, he met with unexpected obstacles. Alvarez de Atayda, the governor, being an enemy to Pereyra, who had refused to lend him 10,000 crowns, seized his ship for the purpose of employing it in the trade to Sancian. Xavier wrote to the King of Portugal and the viceroy, whose interposition, he hoped, would redress the wrongs of his friend. He proceeded in the same vessel to the port just mentioned, and there suffered many hardships from the crew, who wished to please the governor by their harshness towards the missionary whom he had so deeply injured. He was disappointed in a project which he had formed of going alone to Canton, and, worn out by toil and vexation, he could no longer resist the attack of a fever which seized him on the 20th of November, 1552. Unable to bear the motion of the ship, he was set on shore, and after being left some hours on the bare sands, was conveyed to a miserable shed, open on all sides to the sun and wind, the latter of which was as formidable by night as the other was by day. Neglected by almost every one, he lingered nearly a

fortnight, and at two in the afternoon of the 2d December expired with these words on his lips, "in thee, O Lord, I have hoped; I shall never be confounded." After his body had lain some days in a grave dug on the spot, it was disinterred and carried to Goa, where he received all the honours of sepulture.

Xavier was forty-six years of age at his death; ten and a half of which had been spent in the East. His character may be given in the words of Mr Hough, no partial admirer:—"For grandeur of design, and diligence in the execution; for disinterested love to man; for bold fidelity to persons of the highest, and engaging condescension to men of the lowest estate; for unwearied devotion, self-denial, renunciation of the world, intrepidity in dangers, and many other estimable qualities, he has left behind him an example which few have surpassed since the apostles' days." Yet, with his great endowments as a missionary, it is impossible for a sound Protestant to believe that the success of his labours could have been at all adequate to those exertions; and we cannot close his history without lamenting that the possession of a purer creed did not give him greater advantages in his contest with the folly and atrocity of heathen idolatry.*

We have allotted to the life of this first and best of Romish missionaries a space which our limits will not allow us to afford to any of his successors. Eight years after his death the Inquisition was established at Goa, and its proceedings, too faithfully copied from those of the Holy Office in Europe, could not fail, by the horror they excited, to prevent the spread of the gospel in India. The insolence and rapacity which the Portuguese, in common with too many other European nations, exhibited in their intercourse with the Mohammedans and Hindoos, doubtless strengthened every prejudice in the minds of the latter against the christian faith. Nor were these hostile feelings in any degree mitigated by

* Hough, vol. i. p. 203-209. Carne, p. 78-129.

the mixture of force and fraud employed by the Romanists, in order to bring under their ecclesiastical dominion the Syrian Church of Malabar, which had for many centuries flourished, independent of all foreign jurisdiction. The Jesuits, however, vigorously pursued the work of proselytism, and the college of St Paul at Goa furnished them with numerous auxiliaries. Nothing of particular importance occurs in the history of Romanism in India until 1582, when the Mogul emperor Akbar expressed a wish to be instructed in Christianity. Having obtained some information from Antonio Criminal, the Portuguese ambassador at his court, he sent for a Jesuit then resident in Bengal, and received from him a much more complete knowledge of the evangelical system. He wrote to the Jesuits at Goa to obtain a supply of teachers, and in consequence three missionaries, Aqua-viva, Manserrat, and Heneric, were despatched to the imperial court. Akbar listened attentively to their instructions, and was so pleased with the view given by them of the principles of the gospel, that he said, "it is by shedding their own blood that the Christians have propagated their truths all over the world ; and it is by shedding the blood of others that Mohammedanism has prevailed in the East." He committed the education of his favourite son, Pahair, to Father Manserrat ; and by various acts excited in the reverend brethren expectations of his conversion. But a revolt of the Patans, a restless people in the north, distracted his attention from religious studies ; and reflection on the hazards attending the renunciation of Islamism seems to have cooled his ardour for divine knowledge. All the clergymen left Delhi with the exception of Aqua-viva ; who, remaining a few months longer, had the mortification to see his hopes blasted by a resolution on the part of the emperor to form a new religion, by blending into one the leading principles of Christianity, Mohammedanism, and Brahminism.

Some years afterwards Akbar, struck with remorse for his conduct, sent again for the missionaries ; but the two

priests who were first despatched speedily returned, having despaired of making any salutary impression on his mind. Their precipitation being blamed by the general of the Jesuits, Emmanuel Pinero, and Jerome Xavier, nephew to Francis, were sent in 1597 to Lahore, where the monarch held his court. The latter evangelist endeavoured to conciliate him by composing, in the Persian language, which he had studied for the purpose, two works, "The History of Jesus Christ," and "The Life of St Peter," in which Mohammedan legends were interwoven with Scriptural truths. This scandalous artifice appears to have had no effect on the mind of the emperor, who died in 1605. He was succeeded by his son Jehangire, who, in order to defeat a prediction that his nephews were to inherit the throne instead of his own children, caused them to be educated in the christian faith, which would prove an insuperable bar to the possession of the Mogul diadem. The discovery of this design brought disgrace on its author and on the Jesuits, who were perhaps unconsciously his instruments, and hence the Romish religion made no further progress in his dominions.*

In the mean time, attempts had been made to introduce the gospel into Bengal, but, according to the confession of Romanists themselves, with very little success. The Jesuits point to the Madura mission as the scene of their noblest triumph in India, and therefore some account must be given of labours so much eulogized. Madura is a province in the Southern Carnatic, and has a capital of the same name. The Franciscans had for some time laboured among the inhabitants of this district, when Robert de Nobili, a near relation of Pope Marcellus II., and nephew to Cardinal Bellarmine, arrived from Europe in 1606, as the founder of a Jesuit mission. Conceiving that preceding labourers had confined their attention too exclusively to the humbler ranks, he resolved to conciliate the favour of the Brah-

* Hough, vol. ii. p. 260-285:

mins ; and for this purpose represented himself as one of the highest order, producing as evidence of his claims an old dirty parchment, on which he had forged, in the ancient Indian characters, a deed, showing that the Roman Jesuits descended in a direct line from the god Brahma, and were of a much more remote antiquity than their Oriental brethren. Finding that the Hindoos have four Vedas, or sacred books, three of which explain the relative duties of mankind, and the other describes the system of religious ordinances, De Nobili and his colleagues fabricated a fifth, in a style closely corresponding to that of the others, into which they introduced enough of Scripture to give it an evangelical aspect without exciting suspicion. If this work should be considered an authentic Veda, they intended from its contents to draw a proof of the divine nature of Christianity. Beschi, a companion of the unscrupulous priest, composed an epic poem, the Temba-Vani, replete with a mixture of sacred truth and absurd legends, and written in the usual florid style of Oriental poetry. The Jesuits adopted the dress, food, and in short all the habits of the Brahmins, and even went so far as to treat with pride and contempt the natives of the lower castes. By these means they completely superseded the Franciscans in the estimation of the fickle Hindoos, who saw in them a class of men very similar to those whom they had for ages been accustomed to reverence. Freed from the presence of the rival order, they proceeded to greater lengths in their efforts to conciliate the inhabitants. They incorporated with the rites of the Romish church the idolatrous ceremonies against which their predecessors had zealously inveighed. Having prevailed on twelve Brahmins to join them, they proceeded rapidly in the work of proselytism, and boasted that thousands were yearly added to the church ; but these conversions appear to have consisted merely in an outward profession of belief in the gospel. The people were suffered to retain all their previous customs, and they merely substituted, as objects of worship, the saints of the Romish calendar for

the idols of their ancient mythology. According to the confession of M. Dubois, himself a popish missionary, the moral character of the converts was made worse instead of being improved.

The flagrant compromise of christian principle made by the Madura Jesuits was attacked by the Romish missionaries of other orders; and, in consequence of representations made to the papal court, an inquiry into the nature of their proceedings was made by the Archbishop of Goa. The charges against them were proved; and, when the news arrived at Rome, their conduct was severely blamed by many influential individuals, and among others by Bellarmine, whose near relationship to the principal delinquent did not prevent his giving utterance to feelings of honest indignation. After some delay, a constitution for the same mission was sent out by Gregory XV. in 1623; but being less favourable to the Jesuits than they wished, it was suppressed for many years, and De Nobili continued to prosecute his former plans till 1651, the period of his death. They sent false representations of their conduct to the pope, stating that the rites which they allowed their converts to retain were merely civil customs having no reference to religion. These accounts had for some time the effect of blinding the see of Rome to the real nature of their proceedings.*

In the course of the seventeenth century, Jesuit missions were established at Pondicherry, Tanjore, and other places. In the first-mentioned city, the capital of the French in India, they nearly excited a rebellion by persuading the governor to pull down a pagoda, in violation of a solemn treaty. This nefarious advice is supposed to have been given in order that the demolition of the temple, when reported at Rome, might serve to disprove the charges brought against them of favouring the superstitions of the natives. The destruction of some heathen idols at Pondicherry, in 1701, being

* Hough, vol. ii. p. 219-256. Mosheim, cent. xvii. sect. i.

made known in the kingdom of Tanjore, occasioned a persecution of the converts in that district. The rajah issued orders that all who would not renounce the christian faith should be beaten with rods, thrown into prison, and there left to perish. A few escaped from the kingdom; an equally small number suffered for their religion; but the great majority preferred apostasy to martyrdom. The churches were destroyed; and, for a long time, the priests of every popish order were forbidden to enter the dominions of Tanjore.

In the following year, Clement XI. sent out the Cardinal de Tournon as his legate in the East. Finding that he was disposed to act impartially, the Jesuits refused to submit to his authority, obliged him to leave Hindostan, and after imbittering his life in China, at last, by their intrigues, succeeded in getting him thrown into prison at Macao, where he died in 1710. It is needless to enter into the history of the contests between these monks and the papal court, which were finally brought to a close in 1743 by the decided measures of Benedict XIV. Nearly about the same time, a severe blow was given to the missions by the discovery of the imposture so long practised by the Jesuits, in asserting themselves to be a superior order of Brahmins. It is surprising that this impudent fraud should have remained so long undetected. The incomparably better character of the Protestant ministers who were now labouring in India could not but operate greatly to the disadvantage of the emissaries of Rome; and the suppression of the "Society of Jesus" by Clement XIV. in 1773, accelerated the downfall of the popish cause in the East. The place of the Jesuits was supplied by a native clergy; but these men, neither educated nor exemplary, did not keep together the congregations which the European priests had collected. An example of the slight hold which Christianity held over the minds of the Hindoos is to be found in the fact, that all of them who were subjects of Tippoo Saib, amounting in number to 60,000, apostatized rather than consent to expose themselves to

suffering for their religion. It is true that after the death of the tyrant, who had compelled them to embrace Mohammedanism, a large proportion of these individuals returned to the profession of their former faith ; but no reliance could be placed upon the sincerity of men who had universally fallen away in the hour of trial. As there is nothing further interesting in the proceedings of the Romish church in India, we may conclude this narrative by stating the numbers of its adherents in our Eastern empire. These, according to the missionary Dubois, amounted in 1815 to about 650,000 souls ; and there is no reason to believe that they have greatly increased since that period. A large proportion of them are the descendants of that section of the ancient Malabar church, which, by various dishonourable means, was, more than two centuries ago, subjected to the yoke of the papacy. A melancholy account of the state of religion among the Roman Catholics in Hindostan is given by the same writer, whose testimony is unexceptionable, as he is a member of their communion. The historian of Christianity in India, whose long residence in that country gives weight to his remarks, states that there is a small minority of truly pious converts, "sufficiently numerous to encourage the belief that the Saviour has a little flock in that dark and idolatrous church," and to prove that even the popish missions have not entirely failed to promote the cause of the gospel.*

* Hough, vol. ii. pp. 426-444, 457-493.

CHAPTER II.

Romish Missions to Eastern Asia.

Mission to Japan—Labours of Torres and Almeida—Considerable Success—Conversion of some native Princes—Japanese Embassy to Rome—Continued Persecutions and Destruction of the Mission—China—Ricci and Schaal—Persecutions—State of Romanism in China—Missions to Tonquin and Siam.

WE have seen that the foundations of a christian church in Japan were laid by Xavier, whose last public act was to send three missionaries, Alcaceva, Balthazar, and De Silva. After labouring a short time, the first returned to Goa; and in consequence of his representations, Melchior Nugnez, the Jesuit provincial in the Indies, repaired thither with six priests and five students. He remained, however, only a short period, but before his departure conferred two great benefits on the mission by appointing Cosmo de Torres, the fellow-labourer of Xavier, its provincial, and admitting as a member of it a zealous young nobleman named Louis Almeida. The former received a letter from a bonze, inviting him to come to Miaco, the capital of the whole empire; but as it was inconvenient for him to go, Villela was despatched in his stead, with two native youths as his companions. They arrived at the metropolis in November 1559; and having for some time braved the insults of the people, Villela obtained from the emperor leave to erect a chapel, after which event he met with considerable success. About the same period, Almeida was sent into the interior; and among other places visited the fortress of Ekandomo, where

Xavier received much hospitality and made several converts. He found manuscripts and other gratifying tokens of his illustrious predecessor. He next visited the King of Omura, who had expressed a desire to obtain information relative to the gospel, and, after receiving instruction, was baptized by the name of Bartholomew. His brother, the sovereign of Arima, followed his example ; but the precipitate measures which they adopted against the ancient faith provoked an insurrection, which was not quelled without difficulty.

The mission sustained a severe loss in the death of De Silva, who besides labouring with great diligence as a missionary, had composed a grammar and dictionary in Portuguese and Japonian, which proved very useful to the fathers who came from the Indies. In 1564, a reinforcement of fifteen Jesuits arrived in the country. Soon afterwards, Almeida, on his way to Miaco, at the town of Sacay, confirmed in her resolutions of perpetual chastity Monica, the first Japanese nun, and the daughter of Sanches, a rich convert. On his arrival in the metropolis he found the church in a flourishing condition ; but these favourable prospects were speedily overcast by a rebellion, in which the emperor with his family perished. The missionaries were banished from Miaco, and retired to Sacay. Three years afterwards, another revolution took place ; and Nobunanga, the new sovereign, recalled the foreign teachers, and put the heathen priests to the sword.

In 1570, Cosmo de Torres died at the age of seventy-four, after a ministry of twenty-one years in Japan, and was soon followed by his faithful associate Villela, whose toils had worn him out, though only in the prime of life. Francis Cabral was appointed Jesuit provincial, and on his arrival made a tour through the empire to inspect the state of the mission. Its most flourishing branch was established at Omura, where, in the years 1575 and 1576, thirty churches were built and 20,000 persons baptized. Colleges were erected in Arima and Fucheo, in order to afford the higher classes the means of a christian education. Reinforcements of missionaries ar-

rived almost every year ; and so fast did they make progress, that Alexander Valignan, the successor of Cabral, on his return to the Indies, left in Japan 150,000 Christians, 200 churches, and fifty-nine religious houses of his order. This was in 1582 ; and, along with the retiring provincial, there was sent an embassy from the kings of Fucheo, Arima, and Omura, to Pope Gregory XIII. It consisted of three noblemen of the highest rank, who, arriving at Lisbon in August 1584, passed through Spain to Rome. They were received with the utmost pomp ; and, in the enthusiasm of the moment, a Jesuit did not hesitate to affirm, in a harangue delivered before the conclave, that Japan would prove a sufficient compensation for the loss of heretical England ! Gregory dying in the midst of the rejoicings of the court and city, his successor, Sixtus V., appointed the ambassadors to bear the canopy at his inauguration, and conferred on them the papal order of the Golden Spur. They left Italy in June 1585, and in due time safely arrived in their own country.

The missionaries were greatly indebted for their success in Japan to their kind treatment of the sick and poor, who were represented by the bonzes as wretches under the displeasure of the gods, and therefore unworthy of relief ; to an affinity between their religion and the native superstition in monachism, saint-worship, prayers for the dead, and other instances ; and especially to the desire of the government for a close connexion with the Portuguese. Their prospects were not clouded by the death of Nobunanga, who was slain in a mutiny of his troops, for his successor, Faxiba, was equally favourable to them. But they had soon to bewail the death of Louis Almeida, after a missionary career of twenty-nine years ; whose eloquence, medical skill, and indefatigable zeal rendered his loss the more severe. His decease was speedily followed by that of the royal brothers, kings of Omura and Arima. The demise of these princely protectors was a heavy blow to the christian cause, for the emperor, who had assumed the title of Cambacundo, immediately changed his demeanour to-

wards the preachers and professors of the new faith. Dreading that he might adopt harsh measures towards those whom he had lately favoured, the father provincial summoned a meeting of his brethren at Firando, whither they repaired in disguise to the number of 120. They agreed to incur the danger of martyrdom rather than quit their posts, though several chiefs offered to give them shelter, in defiance of the emperor's tyranny. The conduct of Cambacundo was imitated by others, and in particular by the King of Tango, who persecuted his queen for her inclination to Christianity. Cut off from all intercourse with the fathers, she was importunate for baptism ; therefore they instructed a maid of honour named Mary to perform that sacred rite, which, having accomplished, she made a vow of perpetual virginity. Her majesty, however, not long after, occasioned considerable trouble to the missionaries by confessing to Mary, whom she supposed capable of granting absolution, as well as of administering baptism ! Meanwhile, in Miaco, the Jesuits' houses were razed, and many of the churches defaced ; the principal christian inhabitants were punished with banishment and confiscation of property. But no martyrdoms actually took place till the year 1596, when Martinez, provincial of the Indies, arrived at Nangasaki, as bishop of Japan.

The prelate found the cloud about to burst in fury on his flock, whose spiritual interests were under the care of Franciscans, Benedictines, and Augustinians, as well as members of "The Society of Jesus." The first christian martyrs in Japan were six Franciscans, three Jesuits, and fifteen native converts, who were crucified at Nangasaki. The emperor having issued an edict for the expulsion of the fathers, several colleges were broken up, in one of which, that of Arima, there were a hundred students. A hundred and thirty-seven churches were demolished. The tyrant soon after fell sick, and died in his sixty-fifth year, refusing to the last to listen to the spiritual counsels of Father Rodriguez, who compassionately visited him.

An interval of rest immediately followed his death. The monks took possession of their former abodes ; the churches were rebuilt ; and in the space of two years upwards of 20,000 persons embraced the faith.

Cambacundo had subjected all Japan to his sway ; and his successor retained that extensive empire under his power. Unfortunately he testified as bitter a hatred to Christianity as the late sovereign had done. In 1604, he began a persecution against the converts by cutting off Don Simon, a man of rank and a brave soldier. Several of his relatives, and among them his mother and wife, were put to death by crucifixion. On the Japanese cross there is a seat in the middle for the sufferer, whose hands and feet are bound with cords, and whose neck is secured by an iron ring ; after which, it is raised aloft in the air, and the executioners, with sharp lances, aim at the heart of the condemned through the left side. A speedy dissolution is thereby produced, instead of the lingering torment to which those were doomed who, in ancient times, suffered " the accursed death."

The persecution seems to have languished for some time ; but in 1611 the emperor was alarmed at the progress which the King of Spain had made in the East. It is said that his suspicions were fomented by the English and Dutch, who were desirous of engrossing the whole commerce of Japan, to the exclusion of the Spaniards and Portuguese, now forming one nation under Philip II. A Spanish pilot, in consequence of many vessels having been wrecked on the coast, took occasion to sound the depths of some of the harbours ; and this rash act increased the jealousy of the court. The emperor exiled many of the lords, and several ladies about his palace, in consequence of their refusal to renounce the christian faith. There is a romantic story told of one of the latter, named Julia, who lived many years in an island named Cozuxina, inhabited only by a few poor fishermen, dwelling in huts of straw. Her only book was a volume of the Lives of the Saints, a work from which she

could not obtain the pure spiritual nourishment afforded by the Bible ; but the Word of God, we fear, was rarely to be met with in Japan, even when the Romish missionaries were boasting most loudly of their success. The King of Arima, grandson to one of those princes who had embraced the gospel in the early days of the Japanese church, now commenced a persecution, and many converts were burnt alive. On one occasion, when eight Christians were about to suffer at the stake, they were accompanied to the scene of martyrdom by 40,000 of their brethren, who marched six abreast, singing the litanies of the virgin and the saints.

In 1614, the persecution became general over Japan. The Jesuits were banished from Miaco to Nangasaki, one of the ports of the empire. The churches, chapels, and houses were demolished ; and a proclamation was issued, threatening the punishment of being burnt alive to all who would not renounce their religion. Conceiving it better to leave the country, a hundred missionaries, with numerous teachers and catechists, fled, taking with them as many church ornaments and relics as they could convey in the small vessels in which they embarked. Twenty-seven Jesuits remained, with several Franciscans and Dominicans. Jealousies had formerly broken out between these different orders ; but now the only rivalry was that of toil and suffering. Though the clergy could move abroad only by night, they contrived to strengthen and comfort their followers, and even to gain new converts to the faith. One of them thus describes his mode of life at this time :—" I have been thrice this year at Cocura, and every time on peril of my life. I travel by night with difficulty. In the day-time, I hear confessions, and lie in an obscure hut, with all the inconveniences of heat, cold, famine, and thirst. I never endured more in my whole life ; travelling often over craggy mountains, I tore my feet and face with continual falls, inso-much that I was many times all over blood."

The sufferings of the Christians continued many years. In 1622, fifty-one were burnt alive at the same

time ; and the procurator-general, Spinola, a member of an ancient Italian family, was at the head of this band of martyrs. It is said that he was induced to enter the "Society of Jesus" by the prediction of a friend, who told him that he was destined to die for the truth in Japan. Before his death, he lay four years in a loathsome dungeon ; still, amid sickness and solitude he expressed himself to be full of such joy that "he could not but think himself at the entrance of paradise." At the place of execution he animated his companions by a heart-stirring address, and by singing the psalm "Praise the Lord, all ye people." On another occasion, a number of Christians were placed in the dead of winter in pools several feet deep. As night came on, the water froze ; and drifts of snow beat upon them at the same time, so that they soon perished. The last who died was Father Carival, who, though a man of delicate frame, endured the cold fifteen hours. The converts throughout the empire were arrested on the slightest suspicion, and put to death without regard to age, sex, or rank. Even the dead were not allowed to rest quietly in their graves ; their bodies being disinterred with savage and despicable fury. One of the most interesting sufferers was Julian Nicaura, a chief of the blood-royal, and one of the three ambassadors to the papal court. At the commencement of the persecution he fled, and wandered twenty years amidst the wildest districts of the country. For months together he lived in caves and deserts, stealing out occasionally to meet other Christians as closely pursued as himself, with whom he occasionally spent a night in religious conversation, prayer, and praise. At last, wasted with toil, hunger, and sorrow for the state of the church, he was surprised by some soldiers who were in pursuit of him, and conducted in chains to Nangasaki, where, after rejecting the offers of pardon on condition of recanting, he suffered martyrdom at the age of seventy, amidst a crowd of sympathizing spectators.

Year after year, some of the Jesuits who remained in the country were hunted down and brought to the

stake. A missionary named Matthew Cauro, who had been raised to the barren dignity of father-provincial of Japan, thus describes the peril in which he lived :— Alarmed by the strict search made by the soldiers for the priests, “the Christians where I lived came with positive orders to be gone, for it was impossible, they said, to secure me any longer; I promised to embark the next night, but my patron in the mean time had prepared me a hiding-place, unknown to the family. I stole into it at night, with my catechist and one servant; but it was scarce four feet broad, and not more than twelve in length. We lived there night and day without any light, excepting at meal time, or when we recited the divine office or wrote letters. They gave us our diet through a hole in the thatch, and then closed it again. I lived thirty-five days in this darkness, and never stirred out, except at Easter to say mass. Subsequently my protector made me another hole about the same size, where I continue to the present day, reading and writing by a light borrowed from a narrow crevice through the boards. The spies, believing me to live not far off, use their utmost efforts to surprise me. The governor is so earnest to find me out, that he has forbidden the people to make enclosures about their houses for two leagues round, in order to see who goes in or comes out of doors.” On some occasions, the medical skill of the missionaries saved their lives, as the Japanese knew their great superiority to the ignorant native practitioners, who, as might be expected, detested the foreigners as intruders into their practice.

It was a favourite method of execution to plunge the Christians into the boiling water found in several lakes on the summit of Ugen, a high mountain in the vicinity of Nangasaki; and by such means, in the course of a few years, was our religion completely extirpated in Japan.

The vast empire of China had attracted the attention of Xavier, who longed to carry into it the knowledge of the true faith. It was not, indeed, altogether a novelty

in "the celestial empire." According to an oriental tradition, St Thomas the apostle, after having laboured in India, passed thither, and founded a church in the city of Cambalu or Pe-king. In the third century, the apologist Arnobius speaks of the *Seres* as converts to the evangelical religion ; and it has been supposed that this nation was the Chinese.* On the credit of an ancient monument of marble, dug up at Si-gnan-fou in 1625, and bearing an inscription in Chinese and Syriac, it has been concluded that the gospel was introduced into the empire by a missionary from the west in 636. This commemorative tablet was erected in 782 ; and though the authenticity of the inscription has been doubted, there is no reason to disbelieve the fact to which it refers. According to Mosheim, there is satisfactory evidence that our creed prevailed, even before the seventh century, in the northern provinces, which were evangelized by the Nestorians, a sect that has the undoubted glory of having been the missionaries of Eastern Asia. "The Christianity of China between the seventh and the thirteenth century," says Gibbon, "is invincibly proved by the consent of Chinese, Arabian, Syriac, and Latin evidence." It would even appear that the Nestorians maintained their ground there till the sixteenth century ; but the revolutions of that period drove them from the residence which they long occupied.†

Several attempts to make a settlement in China had previously been made by the Latin church, though without any permanent success. In 1575, however, some Augustine monks from Manilla obtained permission to land at Tong-sou in Fo-kien ; but they did not penetrate further than Tchao-tcheou-fou, the capital of the province, where the viceroy, though he treated them with courtesy, informed them that they must return home. Not long after, some Franciscans were exposed to a similar disappointment.

* Arnobius adversus Gentes, lib. ii.

† Mosheim, cent. vii. chap. 1, and xiv. chap. 2. Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. xlvii. Medhurst's China, p. 221-224.

The Portuguese had obtained leave not only to form a settlement on the island of Macao, but also to hold two annual fairs, each lasting sixty days, at Canton. In 1579, Michael Ruggiero, an Italian Jesuit, visited that city, and, by learning the language, conciliated the admiral's favour, and was allowed to reside in the palace. Although obliged to depart at the close of the market, he was afterwards permitted to go to Chao-tcheou-fou, the capital of the province, and even build a house and church there. Ruggiero had been joined by Matthew Ricci, a Jesuit of great talent and learning, who soon acquired the attention and respect of the Chinese by his scientific attainments. The missionaries assumed the dress of the bonzes, in order to procure the countenance of that body of men. After remaining some time in the provincial capital, an offer was made by the governor to take them to his native district of Se-tchuen, which they accepted; and, in the course of a year or two, by the favour of various dignitaries, they found their way both to Nan-king and Pe-king. Some valuable presents received from Europe won the regard of the emperor. Ricci, who had a house assigned him, and was taken into the service of the state, employed the influence he had acquired in diffusing a knowledge of Christianity; but the indifference to religion which prevailed among all classes prevented him from making great progress. He died in 1610, at the age of fifty-eight, and was buried in a piece of ground given by the sovereign, Chin-tsong, for that purpose: it is even said that an offer was made to erect a temple and statue to his honour. Several conversions took place, not only in the capital, but in the distant cities of Nan-tchang and Shanghai. In the latter place, a mandarin of great talents and influence professed the faith of Christ, and, on his baptism, took the name of Paul. He translated into his native tongue some pieces composed by Ricci, and wrote an apology for the religion which he had embraced. He declared himself willing to endure all sufferings in the cause of the gospel; and, till the time of his death,

which occurred about 1633, he was considered one of the chief supports of the true faith in the empire. His youngest daughter, Candida, being left a widow at an early age, devoted herself to the promotion of the evangelical cause, and spent the greater part of her fortune in the printing of pious books and the founding of churches. She established an hospital for deserted infants, on discovering the extent to which child-murder was carried among the people. A few years before her death, the emperor conferred on her the title of "the virtuous woman ; and when she died, she was bewailed by the poor as their mother, by the converts as their pattern, and by the missionaries as their best friend."

In 1631, the Dominicans and Franciscans first arrived in China as missionaries. The principal Jesuit father at this time was Adam Schaal, who, by his skill in mathematics, gained a fame equal to that of Ricci. The labours of the priests were, however, interrupted by the disturbances which soon followed. The Emperor Tsong-ching chose to commit suicide, in order to prevent himself from falling into the hands of a body of rebels, who had taken his capital and besieged him in his palace. Ou-son-kouei, a general on the frontier, who commanded an army watching the movements of the Mantchoos or Mandshur Tartars, opened a negotiation with the enemy, and requested their assistance to overcome the usurper Li-tse-tching. The Tartars eagerly accepted the invitation, and entered Pe-king in triumph, but availed themselves of the opportunity to establish on the throne Chun-tchi, the son of their leader Tsong-te, who had died soon after their arrival. In the course of eight years, this dynasty was firmly established in every part of the empire.

Adam Schaal was in high favour with the new sovereign, who, having appointed him a mandarin, and president of the tribunal of astronomy, employed him to compile the imperial calendar. His chief colleague was named Verbiest. Chun-tchi often conversed with the fathers on the subject of religion, and read their books ;

but no real impression seems to have been made on his mind. He died in 1661, at the age of twenty-three, of grief, on account of his consort's death, to whom he was exceedingly attached.

As the next emperor, Kang-hi, was under age, his guardianship was intrusted to four nobles, who were rendered hostile to Christianity by a learned man named Yang-quang-sien, who wrote a book against the new faith. One of his calumnies very likely to have effect with a suspicious people such as the Chinese, was, that the missionaries, by maintaining that all mankind were descended from Adam, wished to insinuate that the Europeans, being elder born, had a better right to the empire than its present possessors. Schaal, with three companions, was loaded with chains, and dragged before the imperial tribunals in 1665. After he had been condemned to be cut into ten thousand pieces, his sentence was remitted; and some time subsequently he was released from prison, but died soon after in his seventy-eighth year. With the exception of four persons, the remainder of the missionaries, consisting of one Franciscan, three Dominicans, and twenty-one Jesuits, were banished to Canton. On Kang-hi's coming of age, he employed Verbiest to correct the calendar, who used the influence he had acquired by the performance of this task to prevail upon the monarch to recall the preachers. In one year after their return they are said to have baptized 20,000 Chinese. A maternal uncle of the sovereign embraced the faith. Verbiest rose still higher in favour with Kang-hi by casting some brass cannon, which were employed with success against an army of rebels. The mandarins, following the example of the court, protected the missionaries in all parts of the empire.

Louis XIV. resolved to take advantage of the friendly dispositions of the Chinese, by sending out a body of priests skilled in mathematics; who, after arriving at the port of Ning-po, were detained some time by the jealousy of the governor. He was, however, at last constrained to allow them to proceed, in consequence of

an order from the court obtained by the Jesuit, who represented to the emperor the scientific attainments of the foreigners. Shortly before their arrival at Pe-king, they learned with great sorrow that their friend had died on the 27th January 1688, universally lamented by the Chinese, among whom he had laboured with indefatigable zeal. His place was supplied by Father Grimaldi. Kang-hi showed great favour to the French clergymen, and gave them a piece of ground within the precincts of his own palace for the erection of a church and house. The former, which was a splendid edifice, was opened in 1702.*

In the midst of their success the Jesuits had become involved in a serious dispute with their Dominican and Franciscan coadjutors. The points chiefly controverted were, whether the words Tien, "heaven," and Shang-te, "supreme ruler," meant the true God or the material heavens; and whether the ceremonies performed at the tombs of ancestors, and in honour of Confucius, were civil or religious rites. The Jesuits maintained the former, while the others held the latter of these propositions. The one employed the disputed terms, and allowed the rites objected to by their opponents. Contradictory bulls from Popes Innocent X. and Alexander VII. increased the perplexity of the converts. In 1693, Maigrot, titular bishop of Conon, and vicar-apostolic of China, issued a mandate which distinctly affirmed the opinions of the Dominicans and Franciscans. The emperor, in 1700, declared, on being applied to, that the Jesuits were in the right; but Clement XI., four years later, confirmed the decision of Maigrot. In order to settle the dispute, Cardinal Tournon was appointed papal legate in that country. He reached Pe-king about the end of the year 1705; but, upon obtaining an audience of the sovereign, he failed to convince him of the correctness of his views, which were directly opposed to those of the Jesuits. Kang-hi, in 1706, issued a declaration

* Du Halde's History of China, vol. i. p. 488-497. Medhurst, p. 225-236.

that he would countenance only those missionaries who adhered to Ricci's opinion, and would persecute all such as agreed in sentiment with the vicar-apostolic. An examiner was then directed to inquire what clergymen were disposed to comply with the imperial commands ; as these alone would be allowed to remain, while all others must depart to Canton. Tournon issued two mandates, forbidding the fathers to submit to the investigation. The emperor in consequence ordered the cardinal to leave Pe-king ; and Maigrot was now constrained to quit a country in which he had raised up to himself so many enemies. On repairing to Macao, Tournon found his situation there equally disagreeable, as the Portuguese authorities were arrayed against him. In 1710, he died of grief, upon finding himself thrown into prison, and his spiritual censures openly derided by his enemies. Another legate, Mezzabarba, titular patriarch of Alexandria, was sent out ten years after ; but he likewise failed to accommodate matters.*

In 1722, Kang-hi died at the age of sixty-nine, and was succeeded by Yong-tching, who, though in many respects a prince of great merit, was bigotedly attached to the superstitions of his country. Advantage was taken of this disposition to prejudice his mind against the missionaries ; who, it was represented, were undermining the most cherished institutions of the empire ; immuring young women in nunneries, paying no honours to the dead, and seeking, in many ways, to turn the Chinese into Europeans. He accordingly issued a decree, by which the missionaries were obliged to leave every place except Pe-king and Canton. The exercise of their religion was forbidden, and those who had embraced it were required to abjure their profession. The churches, of which it is said there were 300, were converted into granaries, schools, or halls for performing the rites due to ancestors. Some members of the imperial family, belonging to both sexes, had be-

* Mosheim, cent. xvii. sect. i. Hough's Christianity in India, vol. ii. p. 444-466.

come converts to the evangelical faith, and suffered many hardships, under which two of their number consented to perish rather than apostatize. It is affirmed that, by this persecution, 300,000 Christians were deprived of their pastors. Some priests contrived to conceal themselves, especially in the mountainous and unfrequented districts of Hou-quang ; while a number of native catechists, dispersed throughout the country, contrived to keep the converts together.

Yong-tching was, in 1736, succeeded by Kien-long, who at first seemed disposed to relax the severity of his predecessor, but was afterwards instigated by the mandarins and tribunal of rites to use severe measures against the Christians. Some were put to death ; but most of those who were convicted, and refused to abjure their faith, were punished with the bastinado ; and images, crosses, and other articles of Romish worship were destroyed. Only a comparatively small proportion of converts displayed true fortitude under sufferings. In Pe-king, the missionaries continued to enjoy toleration, and even maintained a considerable body of proselytes. In 1792, Lord Macartney found four churches in the capital consecrated for divine worship, and was informed that there was a considerable number in the provinces. Of those in Pe-king, however, three were suppressed by the next emperor, Kea-king.

Within the present century several persecutions on a small scale have taken place ; but, generally speaking, the converts have enjoyed peace. There are still Roman Catholic communities in all the provinces, whose spiritual wants are supplied principally by French monks of the order of St Lazarus. For some years, two or three young priests have been regularly sent out, who quietly proceed to their destination in the interior. There is in the metropolis a popish establishment amounting to 26,000 persons, over whom two French clergymen preside. Mr Medhurst observes, " when the rulers do not suspect the presence of Europeans, they are very indulgent towards the native Christians ; and

the local authorities, having once tolerated them, are interested in preventing their detection in higher quarters, lest they should be called to account for their previous want of vigilance. When, therefore, a community is once formed, it incurs very little risk of being molested. Should the Catholics succeed in forming a native clergy competent to discharge the duties of their office, their cause may rally ; for the government seeks to repress it, not on religious considerations, but because it is an instrument of European influence." There is a college styled that of St Joseph in Macao, belonging to the Propaganda Society, to whom it was transferred on the dissolution of the Jesuit order, and designed to raise up a supply of native teachers. There are six European priests, of whom one is the superior. The number of students is limited to twelve, who are clothed, boarded, and educated at the expense of the institution. Several works, illustrating the language and opinions of the Chinese, have proceeded from the press of this institution. The superior is in constant correspondence with the agents of the missions in various parts of the empire.

In 1810, the Rev. J. B. Miarchini presented to the Bishop of Macao a statement of the condition of their church in "the celestial empire;" according to which, there were then eight bishops, including two coadjutors, twenty-three missionaries, eighty native agents, and 215,000 converts. In 1833, in the diocese of Macao, there were 13,090 native Christians, under the superintendence of seven priests, all of Chinese extraction.

Dr Milne has remarked, in reference to the first Romish missionaries in China, "their stedfastness and triumph in the midst of persecutions, even to blood and death, in all imaginable forms, show that the questionable Christianity which they taught is to be ascribed to the effect of education, not design ; and afford good reason to believe that they have long since joined the army of martyrs, and are now wearing the crown of those who spared not their lives unto the death, but overcame by the blood of the Lamb and the word of his

testimony. It is not to be doubted that many sinners were, through their labours, turned from sin unto holiness ; and they will finally have due praise from God, as fellow-workers in his kingdom." Mr Medhurst remarks that many of the works published by the fathers state the question between Christianity and Chinese superstition in a masterly way, and afford, to a patient and serious inquirer, the means of discovering the way of salvation by a Redeemer. He adds, however, that the majority of the present race of converts " are, it is to be feared, sadly deficient both in knowledge and practice."*

The Romish missionaries who carried a knowledge of their religion into Siam, Tonquin, and Cochin-China were Jesuits, under the direction of Alexander de Rhodes, a native of Avignon. Their instructions, we are assured, were received by a considerable number of the inhabitants. Alexander VII., in 1658, being informed of the success of this spiritual expedition, resolved to appoint bishops in those countries ; and chose for this purpose some French priests from the Congregation of Foreign Missions. These prelates, however, found considerable difficulty in managing the Jesuits, who were averse to the superintendence of men not belonging to their order. In 1684, Louis XIV. sent an embassy to the King of Siam, to induce that prince to embrace Christianity, and permit the propagation of the gospel in his dominions. The ambassadors were accompanied by a large number of missionaries, whose labours, however, were successful only among a small number of the people. In 1688, the monarch and his prime minister, a Greek Christian named Constantine Foulkon, who was favourable to the priests, were murdered in an insurrection, and the fathers returned home. Both in Cochin-China and Tonquin persecutions broke out ; and some converts suffered martyrdom. The Jesuits were expelled from the latter king-

* Medhurst, p. 240-249.

dom ; and those who afterwards visited it, did so by stealth, and at the hazard of their lives.*

In Africa small progress has attended the exertions of the Romish church. Their principal triumphs have been in the Portuguese colonies along the western coast, where converts have been made by monks of the Capuchin order, whose austere mode of life prepared them for the hardships to be undergone in their labours among the savage nations.

* Mosheim, cent. xvii. sect. i. Lockman's Travels of the Jesuits, vol. i. pp. 19-23, 102-105.

CHAPTER III.

Romish Missions to America.

Missions to Brazil—The Tupis—Labours of Anchieta—His Influence over the Natives—Miracles ascribed to him—Indian Caricature of Romanism—Paraguay—Perilous Adventure of a Missionary—Formation of *Reductions*—Opposition to the Jesuits—The Paulistas—Jesuits arm their Dependants—Plan followed in the Reductions—Advantages and Disadvantages of this System—Maranham—Antonio Vieyra—The Jesuits Opponents of Slavery—The Chiquitos and Cavallero—The Moxos and Baraza—The Treaty of Limits—Aldeas of Maranham—Expulsion of the Jesuits from the Portuguese and Spanish Dominions—Peru—California—Canada.

WHILE the church of Rome was thus, with more or less success, spreading a knowledge of Christianity in the pagan districts of the old continents, her sons were equally zealous in their efforts to evangelize America. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the coast of Brazil had been discovered by Alvarez Cabral, who was driven towards it by stress of weather while on a voyage to the East Indies ; and during the next fifty years, great progress was made in the colonization of the important country thus made known to the Portuguese nation. In 1549, John III. appointed Thomas de Sousa governor-general ; and, anxious to promote the spiritual interests of the natives, he sent along with him six Jesuit missionaries, two of whom were lay brethren. Father Manuel de Nobrega was nominated their chief. The Tupis, a powerful tribe, whose language was extensively diffused over the shores of Brazil and far into the interior, first

engaged their attention. They began with those hordes who lived in the vicinity of St Salvador, the colonial capital, and, by their kindness and medical skill, succeeded to a certain extent in gaining the affections of the people. They do not appear to have made a compromise between Popery and Paganism ; but, in order to counteract the influence of the payes or native priests, they introduced the practice of setting the catechism, creed, and ordinary prayers to music, of which the Brazilians were passionately fond. The most active agent in this strange species of evangelizing was John de Aspilcueta, who had the greatest talent for acquiring the native language. The young Tupis sometimes ran away from their parents, and put themselves under the care of the Jesuits, in order to be taught to sing. The missionaries had some success in their efforts to abolish drunkenness and polygamy among them ; but the horrid practice of cannibalism was more difficult to be extirpated. On one occasion, the fathers carried away the body of a prisoner, who had just been killed, and was about to be dragged to the fire to be roasted. The suddenness of their arrival for the moment paralysed the victors, and they offered no resistance, so that the missionaries had time to get the corpse secretly interred. The savages, ashamed of the pusillanimity which had cowered before a few unarmed Europeans, assembled in force, pursued the Jesuits to the city, and were with difficulty prevented by the governor from making an attack.

The inadequate notions of Christianity entertained by the fathers were disclosed by the eagerness with which they administered baptism to the natives, without due evidence of a real change of heart. When they could not prevail with the Brazilians to relinquish the practice of cannibalism, they esteemed themselves fortunate in being allowed to visit the prisoners, give them a brief instruction in the faith, and administer the ordinance of initiation. When the open baptism of these unfortunate persons was afterwards forbidden by their captors,

on the ground that the water sprinkled on them spoiled their taste as food, the fathers took wet handkerchiefs, or moistened their sleeves, in order to squeeze a little upon the captives' heads! The ignorance of the Tupis was manifested by a prevalent opinion that this rite occasioned various disorders which committed great ravages among them. Some regarded the Jesuits with horror, as men who brought pestilence into the country; others fled from their houses to avoid them, or burnt pepper and salt in their way,—a fumigation esteemed of sovereign efficacy against death and evil spirits. These superstitious notions were constantly encouraged by the payes, who found themselves unable in any other way to cope with the superior knowledge of their European rivals.

The immorality which prevailed among the Portuguese, and was not checked by their secular clergy, formed a great obstacle to the success of the missions. The fathers, however, by refusing the eucharist to those who retained native females as concubines, or males as slaves, occasioned some check to the two greatest evils with which European colonists are chargeable.*

The year after Nobrega's arrival in Brazil the title of vice-provincial of that country was conferred upon him, he being thus subjected to a superior in Portugal. In 1552, Don P. F. Sardinha went out as the first bishop, and carried with him a supply of clergymen and church furniture for the cathedral of St Salvador. Next year, Don Edward da Costa arrived as governor, accompanied by seven Jesuits, among whom were Louis de Gram, constituted with Nobrega joint-provincial, and Joseph de Anchieta, a native of Teneriffe, of a noble and wealthy family. He had in 1550, at the age of seventeen, entered "the Society of Jesus," burning with a desire to go forth as a missionary to the heathen. On his arrival he was despatched, along with several others, to the new colony of Piratininga, situated

* Southey's History of Brazil, vol. i. pp. 213-215, 253-259.

somewhat to the south of Rio Janeiro, and "fitted," says Southey, "for an earthly paradise." The missionaries had to endure many privations at first, on account of the total absence of accommodation for persons of civilized habits. A college was established at this place, to which the name of St Paul was given, an appellation afterwards extended to the adjoining district. Anchieta was appointed schoolmaster, and laboured indefatigably to instruct the crowds of natives who came to the settlement, and the Creoles, who equally needed education. He acquired the Tupinamba language, and made a grammar and vocabulary of it. As there were no books for his pupils, he wrote for every one a lesson on a separate leaf, after the business of the day was over; a task which sometimes occupied him till the morning dawned. The profane songs in use among the natives and Creoles were parodied by him in Portuguese, Castilian, Latin, and Tupinamban. Besides these professional avocations, he occupied himself in attending to the medical wants of the Indians, and in making *aspergatas*, a species of shoe adapted for walking among the surrounding wilds.

The labours of Anchieta were virulently opposed by the Portuguese colonists, who saw in the attempts made to christianize the natives only schemes to withdraw them from the degradation in which it was wished they should remain. The mixed breed of Mamalucos or Mestizos were still more inimical to the fathers, and stirred up some of the adjoining tribes to attack Piratininga; but they were repulsed with considerable slaughter.

The Jesuits extended their labours among the native tribes; and, in a few years, many churches were built, and many christian communities formed. After Anchieta had laboured some time in these villages, he undertook a journey into the interior, and visited distant tribes, among whom no European had ever penetrated. He underwent great sufferings in his route, crossing mountains and fording rivers. His lodging was sometimes in vast plains, whose surface was unbroken by a single hut or a solitary tree. He slept amidst the

tall grass which grew on the mounds where the chiefs of former times were interred. An expedition, in which he passed from tribe to tribe, having time only for a hasty visit to each, could not be productive of permanent effects; and the engaging in it displayed more of restless though benevolent enthusiasm, than of sober wisdom.

After his return, he was employed in an enterprise of considerable danger. The Tamoyos, a powerful tribe who inhabited the mountains near Piratininga, irritated by the slave-hunting expeditions of the Portuguese, took up arms, and, though repulsed in an attack on the settlement of St Paul's, were elsewhere victorious, and made the Europeans tremble for the maintenance of their power. Nobrega, who had loudly testified his belief that the reverses of his countrymen were a punishment by God for their cruelty, now offered, along with Anchieta, to place himself in the hands of the savages, and endeavour to bring about a peace. The Tamoyos knew the benevolence of the fathers, and received them with respect. The sanctity of their deportment still further charmed the Indians; but, more than once, their lives were in danger from the violence of rival chiefs. Peace was at last negotiated; and Anchieta, whose companion had been previously allowed to depart, in order to remove some difficulties among the Europeans, was released from his captivity, after a detention of five months. He made a vow to write a poem on the history of the Virgin, in order to preserve himself from the temptations to impurity by which, while resident among licentious savages, he was continually beset. "He had neither paper, pen, nor ink; so he composed his verses while walking on the shore, then traced them in the sand, and, day by day, committed them to memory." His first occupation after his deliverance was to write down the narrative thus singularly produced, which extends to more than 5000 verses in Latin, and, according to Dr Southey, "is not without some gleams of passion and poetry."

Nobrega died in 1571, in the fifty-third year of his

age. He was succeeded as provincial by Anchieta, who continued, until his death in 1597, indefatigable in the care which he took of the rising Jesuit missions ; and he lived to see them widely extended over Brazil. His real exertions were sufficiently admirable, without needing the aid of the despicable fictions by which, in the following century, Simon de Vasconcelles, provincial of the same district, sought to enhance his reputation. He tells his readers that the good monk possessed authority over the elements : " The birds of the air formed a canopy over his head, to shade him from the sun ; the fish came into the net when he required them. The wild beasts of the forest attended upon him in his journeys, and served him as an escort. The fire, at his pleasure, undid the mischief which it had done, so that bread which had been burnt to a coal in the oven was drawn out white and soft by his interference. Water poured over one of his bones worked more than 200 miracles in Pernambuco, more than 1000 in the south of Brazil ; and a few drops of it turned water into wine, as at the marriage in Galilee." The book in which these assertions are made was licensed by the various censors of the press at Lisbon, one of whom declares, that as long as the publication should be delayed, so long would the faithful be deprived of great benefit, and God himself of glory ! In the course of half a century, all the natives along the coast of Brazil, so far as the Portuguese settlements extended, were collected into villages, under Jesuit superintendents, who likewise penetrated into the heart of the country. In one of these missions, a father was not a little surprised to meet with a strange burlesque upon Romanism in a system of religion founded by an Indian chief. This person, having learned somewhat of the faith from certain natives who had fled from the cruelty of the Portuguese on the coast, had christened all the males by the name Jesus, and the females by that of Mary. He had also formed a liturgy, of which all that his reverend visiter could understand was an invocation to the Virgin, as *wife* of God. There was an order of priests, bound to

celibacy on pain of dismissal from their office ; the cross was used, but regarded with little reverence ; and the only image discovered by the missionary was a waxen one of a fox. It is conjectured that this strange sect ceased with its author.

In the mean time, the "Society of Jesus" was pushing its conquests in another district of the New World, which was destined eventually to become the theatre of their most boasted triumphs. The foundation of a mission in Paraguay was laid in 1586 by members of their body, partly from Brazil, and partly from Peru. After labouring some time in Tucuman, and paying a visit to Assumption, two of these priests went down the river Paraguay, and entered the province of Guayra. In 1590, a chapel and a dwelling-house were built for them in Villa Rica, which was the first establishment in the province ; and at the end of three years a college was erected in the same town at considerable expense. John Romero arrived from Peru as superior of the mission ; and six years afterwards, another seminary was founded at Cordoba.

An adventure which befell one of them, named Ortega, will serve as a specimen of the perils to which the first Jesuits were exposed. While journeying with a party of neophytes, he was surprised by a sudden flood, caused by the overflowing of two rivers ; and the whole plain had soon the appearance of a boundless lake. After endeavouring to wade, the travellers were compelled, by the rising of the waters, to betake themselves to trees for safety. The storm increasing, and the inundation augmenting, a huge serpent approached the tree on which Ortega and his catechist had taken refuge, and, coiling round one of the branches, began to ascend. Unable to escape or to defend themselves, the Jesuit and his companion looked for instant death ; but, providentially, the bough broke under the monster's weight, and he swam off. They passed two days in this dangerous position ; and, in the second night, one of the natives swam to them, directed by flashes of lightning, and in-

formed Ortega that six of his companions were at the point of death, some of whom requested baptism, and all desired absolution before they should expire. The Jesuit fastened his catechist to the bough by which he held, then plunged into the water, in order to perform the duties required of him, which he had scarcely done before five of the Indians sank exhausted. On his return, he found that the flood had reached the neck of his companion, whom he untied, and helped to gain a higher branch. The deluge, however, soon began to abate, and they were delivered from their perilous situation. The zealous missionary who incurred such hazards for the propagation of the faith, was afterwards thrown into the prison of the Inquisition, and not restored to liberty until his accuser, an inhabitant of Villa Rica, declared at his death that the charge was malicious.

In 1602, Father Esteban Paez was sent from Europe as visiter, to inspect the state of affairs in Peru and its dependencies, of which Paraguay was one. Convening the Jesuits of Tucuman and La Plata at Salta, he enjoined them to combine a system of established missions with the practice of itinerating. He proposed that the eastern part of the province should be left to the fathers of Brazil, already masters of the general language spoken there ; while the eastern district might be supplied with clergy from Peru.

Some progress having been made in this pious undertaking, Diego de Torres was, in 1608, appointed provincial of Chili and Paraguay, the two countries being formed into one province. Soon after his arrival, he was summoned to Assumption by the bishop and the governor, in consequence of an edict received from Madrid, directing that the Indians of Paraguay should be placed under the control of the "Society of Jesus." These functionaries gave full powers to two Italian priests, Cataldino and Maceta, to execute the royal command, by collecting the converts into townships, governing them independently of any city or fortress, building churches, and, in the king's name, resisting any attempts

to interfere with their jurisdiction. The scene of these missionary powers was the province of Guayra, bounded on the south by the Uruguay, and on the west by the Parana; eastward it extended to the borders of Brazil, then quite undefined; and on the north it terminated in pathless woods or marshes. Having been partially explored by the colonists, two towns were already built, Ciudad Real and Villa Rica. At the time when the Jesuits obtained the powers now mentioned, there were only two priests in the province, one of whom disgraced his profession by misconduct, and the other by ignorance. The Spaniards, too, though they were desirous to obtain a supply of clergymen, in order to perform the rites of their religion, were jealous of the missionaries, whom they considered as intruders.

The first settlement, which was formed at the junction of the rivers Parana and Pirapé, was called Loretto; and it was speedily followed by others.

The Jesuits had exerted themselves to procure the discontinuance of *encomiendas*, by which the Indians were subjected in a kind of feudal servitude to the will of individual colonists; and, in 1612, Francis de Alfaro arrived in Tucuman as royal visiter, with orders to abolish the system of personal service throughout the adjacent provinces. This functionary, however, in consequence of the opposition made by the Spaniards, agreed to rest contented with some merely nominal concessions, which left matters much in the same state as before. On the other hand, he decreed that the Guaranies, and the Guaycurus, a warlike tribe whose lands lay westward of the Paraguay, should be placed under the immediate control of the Jesuits, and not formed into *encomiendas*.*

In 1614, Torres was succeeded in the provincialship by Pedro de Onate, who found that the seven brethren, with whom, in 1607, his predecessor had entered on his office, had increased to a hundred and nineteen. Complaints were made that he had admitted persons too

* Southey, vol. ii. p. 251-274.

freely into the order ; but Onate considered him justified by necessity and the example of Loyola.

The missions continued to flourish, although their conductors had to contend with many difficulties. The jealousy of the Spaniards, who kidnapped their converts ; the opposition of the chiefs, who regarded with contempt the inactivity of their reclaimed countrymen ; the craft of the *payes*, who used every artifice to uphold their execrable superstition ; the diseases consequent upon the sudden change of the Indians from a roving to a settled life ; all conspired to defeat in some measure their zealous efforts. On one occasion, the residents at Loretto were astonished by the appearance of an Indian from Brazil, who announced himself as the Deity, and threatened destruction to Father Cataldino and his pupils ; but the missionary ordered the Guaranies to seize the impostor, and apply the whip to his back. No attention was paid to the cries of the fellow, who roared out that he was no god ; nor was he released till, on three successive days, he had received 100 lashes. It is added that these stripes proved the means of his conversion. Notwithstanding all obstacles, the Jesuits extended their settlements far and wide. In 1620, two reductions were founded on the Uruguay, which were subjected to the newly formed government of La Plata ; while the Parana and Guayra missions remained under the authorities of Paraguay. After some additional stations had been erected, Gonzales, superior of the Parana and Uruguay settlements, attended by another Jesuit named Rodriguez, went to explore the Caro, a district to the east of the latter river, and began to prepare for building in what he deemed a suitable spot. He had made considerable progress in this undertaking when a body of natives, who hated the restrictions imposed by the fathers, attacked the place in concert with the Caroans, and murdered the two preachers, who thus became the protomartyrs of Paraguay. Their bodies, half-reduced to ashes, were recovered by a party sent from the nearest mission, and interred at Conception. A chief called

Niezu, who had formerly been friendly to the fathers, was privy to this assassination, and soon after put to death another, named Castillo, who laboured among his subjects. He then organized a conspiracy against the reductions, designing to expel the missionaries from the country ; but, before his plans were matured, he was surprised and made prisoner. The vigorous efforts of the Jesuits, and the zeal with which these were seconded by some Spanish officers, destroyed the hopes of their savage enemies ; and the execution of Niezu, and of some other hostile leaders, produced a salutary terror among the natives.

A more formidable enemy, however, shortly afterwards attacked the reductions of Guayra ; namely, the Paulistas, or inhabitants of the city and district of St Paul, where Anchieta had formerly laboured. These consisted in a great measure of a mixed race, sprung from connexions between Portuguese settlers and native women. They were hardy, adventurous, and unprincipled ; constantly occupied in making expeditions into the interior in search of captives and mines. Being bitter enemies of the Jesuits, as opponents of slavery, they resolved to expel them from their eastern settlements, formed, as was alleged, in a district belonging to Portugal. The Governor of Paraguay, while on a visit to Loretto, was warned by the priests of the anticipated assault, but refused to leave any troops with them, affirming that he had none to spare. On the pretext of seizing a chief named Tataurana, who, having made his escape from a party of slave-hunters, had taken refuge in the reduction of St Antonio, the Paulistas attacked that settlement, butchered all who resisted, and carried away 2500 Indians as slaves. The ruffians told the missionaries, who threatened them with the divine vengeance, that they had been baptized, and were therefore sure of going to heaven !—a lamentable error, for which, however, they had too much countenance in the dogmas of their corrupt church. Three other settlements were destroyed, and their inhabitants condemned to a

hopeless bondage. Two fathers, Mansilla and Maceta, had the boldness to follow the Paulistas in their return, and administer spiritual comfort to the dying captives, who strewed their line of march. Notwithstanding the number who perished of hunger and fatigue, the marauders succeeded in bringing 1500 prisoners to the station at St Paul, boasting that they had never obtained a better spoil. The heroic Jesuits proceeded to Bahia, and laid their complaint before the governor-general, but obtained no competent redress.

In consequence of the renewed attacks of the Paulistas, and the hostility of the Governor of Paraguay, who would not protect them, the Jesuits abandoned their settlements in Guayra, and transported across the Parana all who could be induced to accompany them. A pestilence broke out among the emigrants, and swept off great numbers. Shortly afterwards, incursions of the same formidable enemy occasioned the abandonment of the reductions in the Tapé country, which lay considerably to the eastward of the Uruguay. The priests collected the wreck of their establishments between the Parana and that river, in the part where their streams approach most nearly to each other.

Perceiving the impossibility of retaining the converted Indians under their control, unless they were supplied with the means of defence against the Paulistas and their Indian confederates, the Jesuits despatched two of their brethren to Europe, in order to obtain authority from the King of Spain to arm their dependants. As they engaged to defray all the expense, and not to give weapons to the converts except in time of danger, the desired permission was granted; directions being at the same time sent to the governors of Paraguay and La Plata to exert themselves for the protection of the missions. The viceroy of the former province soon after intercepted a body of Paulistas, who had murdered Alfaro, the superior, and cut to pieces almost the whole party. About the same period, 1639, a band of Jesuits, who had arrived in Brazil with a bull of excommunication from Urban

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HISTORY

CHRISTIAN MISSION

INFORMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF

BY JAMES A. HILL

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to every corner. - Bath, etc. etc.

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VIII. against all who attempted to enslave the Indians, whether converted or heathen, were very roughly treated in various places by the guilty parties.

In the following year, the revolution happened which placed the house of Braganza on the Portuguese throne. This political change, which deprived Spain of so large a part of her dominions, was attended with evil consequences to the missions in Paraguay, as no Jesuits were allowed to enter that country unless they were natural subjects of the Spanish crown ; and hence the incursions of the Paulistas became lawful war. In 1642, a body of these savage marauders, amounting to four hundred, with a large force of Tupi allies, was defeated by a body of converts, 300 of whom carried firearms. A hundred and twenty Paulistas perished in the battle or the flight ; and the Jesuits followed up this first successful employment of their dependants by rescuing more than 2000 natives, whom the enemy were carrying to Brazil. About the same period, the secular year or centenary of the society was celebrated by the missionaries and their converts with great rejoicings.

The Jesuits were now at liberty to carry into effect their plans for the spiritual and temporal amelioration of their Indian subjects, as the inhabitants of the reductions might well be called. Their first object was to establish, as nearly as possible, a community of goods, believing that they would thereby preserve the converts from many of the evils attendant upon the ordinary form of civilisation. Every master of a family had a competent portion of land allotted to him, on which he grew maize, potatoes, cotton, the earth-nut called *manduri*, and whatever else his household might require. He was considered tenant as long as he was able to work his lot, after which, it was assigned to some other occupant. Two larger portions, denominated *Tupamba* or God's possession, were cultivated for the community, one part being laid out in grain and pulse, and another in cotton. Here all the inhabitants contributed their labour at stated times ; and the produce was deposited in the public

storehouse, for the maintenance of the sick, infirm, widows, orphans, and children, the supply of whatever was needed for the church, and the payment of the taxes.

The administration of the reductions was nominally in the hands of officers, similar to those in Spanish towns, elected by the community, but really in those of the *cura* or rector, and his assistant, one of whom always remained in the settlement, while the other itinerated among the inhabitants of the adjoining district. The houses in the village were placed on three sides of a large square, the fourth side of which was occupied by the church and other public buildings. The Indian dwellings consisted of a single room, about twenty-four feet in length and breadth ; the door serving at once to admit the light and let out the smoke. The religious edifices, which were the largest and most splendid in that part of the world, were profusely furnished with pictures and images. In the middle of the square was a pillar supporting a statue of the Virgin. The burial-ground was neatly laid out, and divided into four parts, for adults and children of different sexes.

The Jesuits recommended that marriages should take place early ; the nuptial age of the males was seventeen, that of the females fifteen. The children lived with their parents ; but their education was public. After prayers, catechism, and mass at the church, they received their breakfast at the rector's house from the common stores, and were then sent to work ; the girls gathering cotton, and driving away birds from the fields ; the boys weeding, keeping the roads in order, and engaging in other tasks suited to their strength. In the afternoon they again repaired to church, where they went through the rosary, and, after getting their dinner in the same manner as their breakfast, returned home to assist their mothers in domestic avocations, or amuse themselves as they pleased. Only those children were taught to read and write who were designed to be public officers, medical attendants, servants of the church, or choristers. In

every reduction there were a few instructed in Latin and Spanish, as well as their own native Guarani tongue ; but, as Dr Southey remarks, "their learning was of little extent,—the Tree of Knowledge was not suffered to grow in a Jesuit paradise."

The Indians possessed a remarkable aptitude for music, and learned to play on various kinds of instruments. The choral part of the church service excited the admiration of strangers. The fathers took advantage of their propensity to dancing, so as to combine that amusement with religious festivals ; but carefully excluded men and all females from the performance, which was limited to boys and youths.

Besides the cultivation of the ground, the men were instructed in various arts by the lay brethren, among whom there were artificers of every kind. In the reductions there were masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, turners, painters, and weavers. Bells were cast and organs built ; horse-mills were constructed, and conduits formed for irrigating the lands. The women provided the houses with wood and water, acted as potters, and spun cotton for the public stores. The dress of the males was partly Spanish, partly Indian, consisting of a shirt, doublet, trousers, and the *poncho* or *aobaci*, "a long cloth with a slit in the middle, through which the head is put ; the two halves then fall before and behind to a convenient length, and the sides being open, the arms are left unimpeded." At church and on public occasions, the females wore a cotton cloak, which left only the face and throat visible ; their ordinary dress was lighter, and better adapted for working.

The missionaries boasted of the morality of their converts. Robertson says, "an admonition from a Jesuit ; a slight mark of infamy ; or, on some singular occasion, a few lashes with a whip, were sufficient to maintain good order among these innocent and happy people." "Few vices," says the historian of Brazil, "could exist in these communities. Avarice and ambition were excluded ; there was little room for envy, and little to

excite hatred and malice. Drunkenness, the sin which most easily besets savage and half-civilized men, was effectually prevented by the prohibition of fermented liquors ; and against incontinence every precaution was taken which the spirit of monachism could dictate.”

The Jesuits wished to insulate their settlements entirely from communication with the Spaniards ; and even when that people were admitted into a few reductions (the others remained closed against them), it was only for the purposes of traffic, and after the exchange of commodities the strangers were dismissed. There was no circulating medium of any kind in the missions. The chief imports were tools, colours for painting, oil and salt, vestments of linen and silk, wax for church-tapers, and wine for the eucharist. The principal exports were cotton, tobacco, and the *matte*, or herb of Paraguay, which is used in this part of Spanish America nearly as much as tea is in England. The shrub from which the leaves are taken, in order to prepare this decoction, was cultivated by the Jesuits.

It has been asserted that the Paraguay missionaries lived in a pompous and sensual manner among their proselytes, but there is every reason to consider this charge a calumny. Those who remained stationary in the reductions, though they enjoyed comfort, were exposed to constant exertion ; and if on any occasion they itinerated in order to make converts, they endured fatigue and hardships of no ordinary kind. The conduct of the fathers was exemplary, and their aim of conferring on the Indians the possession of peace and happiness was attained ; but the dominion was a real, though a mild despotism. Their subjects were studiously kept in intellectual servitude ; and, with the exception of the mechanical and ornamental arts, made little progress towards civilisation. Although difficulty was experienced by the Jesuits in obtaining a sufficient supply of missionaries, they never attempted to recruit their ranks from their catechumens. They alleged, as an excuse for this exception, the intellectual inferiority of

the Guaranies, whom they styled "babies with beards;" but the facility with which these Indians acquired a knowledge of the arts, which the fathers deemed it advisable to teach them, shows that they did not labour under such an incurable obtuseness as their spiritual superiors would have wished others to believe. A more formidable obstacle to the incorporation of the natives into the society, would probably have been found in the unnatural restrictions imposed on her clergy by the rules of the Romish church.*

The opposition made by the Jesuits to the enslaving of the Indians, which had created so many adversaries in Paraguay, rendered them equally unpopular in other parts of South America, more especially in Maranham, a province northward of Brazil. Among the followers of Loyola few have better deserved celebrity than Antonio Vieyra, a man of great political talents, and chaplain to John IV. of Portugal. He was a distinguished preacher, and his sermons, according to Southey, are characterized by "a poignancy of satire, a felicity of expression, a power of language, and an eloquence, proceeding from the fulness of a rich fancy and a noble heart, which have made his writings, notwithstanding all their alloy, the glory as well as the boast of Portuguese literature." After obtaining a reluctant permission from his royal patron, Vieyra set out in 1653 for Maranham, where the Jesuits had been some time established. He found the religious condition of the colony deplorable in the extreme, and the Portuguese, destitute of all principle, were by their oppressions extirpating the unfortunate natives. In his first sermon he warmly represented the impolicy of the prevailing system, and gave a sketch of a plan for remedying the evils, by forming the Indians into communities, and engaging them to labour for wages. His eloquence made a temporary impression, but he soon

* Southey, vol. ii. p. 333-364. Robertson's Charles V., book vi. The Jesuit rule has been celebrated in verse as well as in prose by Dr Southey, being the subject of his beautiful and touching "Tale of Paraguay."

had the mortification of seeing various efforts for the conversion and civilisation of the natives frustrated by the heartless cupidity of the colonists. He made representations of his ill success to the court of Lisbon, and a decree was sent out, ordaining that all slaves not taken in just war should be set at liberty. This order did not satisfy Vieyra, and he embarked for Portugal, where he had the satisfaction of obtaining a compliance with his wishes. He likewise procured the establishment of a board to watch over the interests of the missions, and an edict, declaring that all the Indian settlements in Maranham should be placed under the superintendence of the Jesuits.

On again arriving in the New World, he discovered that his own upright intentions and those of the governor, Vidal, were overborne by the villany of four ecclesiastics associated with them as judges to determine who were justly bondmen, and who not. These men abetted by every means in their power the infamous practice of slavery, by which some of them profited to a great extent. But the zealous missionary found satisfaction in the success attending the labours of his order, of which he had been constituted superior. More than fifty villages of reduced Indians were placed under their control ; and they made several excursions up the neighbouring rivers, and into the heart of the country, to induce the natives to remove to the settlements. Vieyra performed an important service to the colony, by conciliating some powerful tribes, whose enmity would have proved dangerous to it. But neither the excellence of his character, nor the beneficial influence of his labours, could conciliate the favour of the men to whose plans of selfish cruelty he had ever offered a strenuous opposition ; and, taking advantage of the death of John IV., Prince Theodosius, and the Bishop of Japan, his warm friends at the Portuguese court, they occasioned an insurrection at Maranham, which ended in the expulsion of himself and of several of his associates from the colony. The remainder were kept in confinement till the arrival of a new governor,

who succeeded by a cautious policy in procuring their restoration to liberty. They were, however, readmitted only to their spiritual functions ; their temporal authority being suspended till the pleasure of the government should be known. The slave party used all their influence at Lisbon in order to prevent the restoration of power to the Jesuits, and succeeded in persuading the new king, Alfonso VI., to bestow it upon civil officers, while the spiritual management of the natives should be divided among the various orders of monks. This took place in 1663 ; but the miserable state to which the settlements were reduced by this impolitic arrangement attracted the attention of Gregory dos Anjoy, the first bishop of Maranham, when, seventeen years later, he arrived to take possession of his see ; and, through his representations, the Jesuits were reinstated in their former position, spiritual and temporal. Four years after, a second insurrection expelled them from the colony ; but on the suppression of the rebellion, they appear to have been restored.*

We return to the proceedings of the Spanish Jesuits. After an unsuccessful effort to establish a mission among the Chiriguanas, a fierce and intractable race towards the north-west of Assumption, who answered to the denunciations of hell-fire, that they would find means of putting it out, the " Society," about the end of the seventeenth century, founded three reductions among the Chiquitos, a milder tribe to the north. A fruitless attempt was made to discover a communication between these settlements and the Guarani missions, by means of the Paraguay. With the exception of the climate, which was unhealthy, the fathers had even better reason to be pleased with their location among the Chiquitos than that among the Guaranies ; for they had no enemies to contend with, and the people were more intelligent and docile. The most distinguished labourer in this district was Lucas Cavallero, who afterwards endeavoured to convert the numerous and warlike nation of the Manacicas. He

* Southey, vol. ii. p. 456-613.

spent several years among them, and founded a settlement, to which he gave the name of Conception. The method pursued by him in this reduction was nearly the same with that adopted in the Paraguay missions. In 1711, going to visit the tribe of the Puyzocas, who dwelt about two days' journey from Conception, he was treacherously slain on the very night of his arrival in one of their villages, and, out of thirty-six converts who accompanied him, only five reached the settlement in safety. His body was recovered by the Manacicas, and honourably interred in the reduction which owed its existence to him.*

Some time previously, a mission of still greater interest and importance was undertaken by Cyprian Baraza, "perhaps the most enlightened Jesuit that ever laboured in Spanish America." The scene of his exertions was the country of the Moxos, a large district lying on the east of Peru, between the tenth and fifteenth degrees of south latitude. He began his efforts in 1674, and resided among the people about four years, during which he learned their language, and succeeded in gaining their confidence. Bad health constraining him to return to Santa Cruz, he was sent, upon his recovery, to the Chiriguanas; and the ill-advised orders of his superior thus caused several seasons to be uselessly spent among that intractable race. Returning to the Moxos, he succeeded in assembling 600 of them under his care, and founded a settlement, which he called Loretto. He spent five years in confirming the habits of his Indians, and then, leaving the care of the reduction to some brethren who had been despatched to his aid, he set out on an expedition, having for its object the evangelization of the surrounding tribes. By conforming to their habits and relieving their diseases, he succeeded in gaining the good-will of the people, and collecting them into a second settlement, called after the Holy Trinity. He further established among his converts a kind of

* Southey, vol. iii. p. 162-191. *Carne's Life of Cavallero.*

municipal government, vesting the administration in certain individuals chosen by the community. Cyprian next set out for Santa Cruz, where he obtained two hundred cattle, part of which, with great difficulty, he contrived to bring in safety to the reduction, where they increased so fast as to supply many of the settlements subsequently formed. His next occupation was to superintend the erection of a church, which was successfully finished after the labour of some months. It was formed of brick, made according to Baraza's directions; and became the admiration of all the surrounding tribes. Some years afterwards, a second edifice was erected, larger and more splendid than the first, which had become inadequate to the wants of the station. The great distance from Peru by the ordinary road induced the good priest to attempt the discovery of a nearer route across the mountains. He was successful in exploring this path, which, by a journey of not more than fifteen days, could bring missionaries from Peru to the Moxos. After visiting the Tapacures, a people who lived a hundred miles distant from Trinity, Baraza proceeded to the Baures, a nation whom he found much more civilized than the Moxos. He was well received in many of their settlements; but in a village which he had not previously visited, his two companions were alarmed during the night by a great sound of tambours, the signal of death among the Indians. They urged the missionary to flee; but he had only proceeded a few paces when the barbarians came up, who, after piercing his body with arrows, despatched him with an axe. This mournful event happened in 1702, on the anniversary, as it was reckoned, of the day on which his great namesake, the Bishop of Carthage, bowed his neck to the executioner's sword. Both fell in the cause of religion; but the obscure grave dug for the Jesuit by his murderers was very different from the public and honourable interment of the African prelate by his admiring flock.

At Baraza's death the Moxo missions were in a flourishing state. Fifteen settlements had been formed, con-

taining each about 2000 inhabitants. Maize, mandioc, rice, plantains, and a variety of other esculent plants, were cultivated with success. Cotton was raised in all the reductions; and cacao, said to be the best in America, in many of them. The people improved more than their brethren in the Guarani missions, as they were allowed to enrich themselves with the produce of their own labour. There were public lands and herds for the use of the church, as well as of the hospital, into which all persons unable to work were admitted. The sacred edifices were large, well built, and richly ornamented; the natives made considerable proficiency in painting and carving. The only disadvantage was the insalubrity of the climate, which sometimes occasioned great ravages among the lower class.*

The Jesuits had never been able to reconcile the Spaniards of Paraguay to their presence; and twice within ten years—between 1724 and 1734—they were forcibly expelled from Assumption by insurrections. On the restoration of legal authority, however, they were reinstated in their possessions and privileges.

In 1760, a treaty of limits was formed between Spain and Portugal, by which a portion of territory eastward of the Uruguay was ceded to the latter. This district contained seven Guarani reductions; and the inhabitants of these settlements were required to remove into the dominions of the Spanish crown. Both missionaries and converts were exceedingly averse to this harsh measure: the former petitioned against it; the latter determined to resist it by force. They were dissatisfied with the positions chosen for their new abodes; and, in spite of the opposition of the fathers, resolved to retain possession of their present dwellings at all hazards. The Jesuits were kept as prisoners in the places where they had lately ruled with despotic power; and their followers entreated the court of Spain to recall the edict which it had rashly issued. The commissioners for executing

* Southey, vol. iii. p. 198-210. Carne's Life of Baraza.

the treaty, who might have prevented evil consequences by representing to their respective governments the injustice and inexpediency of the measure, or even by delaying its execution till means had been tried to reconcile the Guaranies to the change, declared war against the seven reductions. The Jesuit provincial, alarmed for the consequences to his order which might arise from this state of things, offered to resign to the Spanish crown all the authority possessed by his brethren in the Guarani reductions, whether belonging to the ceded district or not; but this proposal was not accepted by the governor. A united Spanish and Portuguese army invaded the Indian territory; and, after some delay, occasioned by the difficult nature of the country, succeeded in reducing the insurgents, who displayed little courage or military skill. Yet, after all, the treaty of limits was not carried into effect; and, in the year 1761, a new negotiation was concluded, by which it was annulled, and the Guaranies were instructed to return to their dilapidated towns and wasted territory, where the brethren exerted themselves to repair the evils so wantonly inflicted on their unhappy converts.*

Although the Jesuits thus recovered authority over the Indians of the ceded districts, their success was much more than counterbalanced by the misfortunes which befell them in the Portuguese territories. The missions in the provinces of Maranhão and Pará, which were called *aldeas*, extended as far as 2000 miles up the Orellana. Several of them, however, belonged to other religious orders; and between the Carmelites and Jesuits there had been disputes about their respective limits. The system pursued at these stations differed considerably from that which was followed in the other settlements. There the fathers had the uncontrolled management of their disciples; but, in the Portuguese missions, twenty-eight in all, they were obliged to submit to the condition that they should work half the

* Southey, vol. iii. p. 442-503.

year at a certain rate of wages for the European settlers. During the other six months, they laboured on their own behalf, or for the support of the missionaries, who had not, as in the reductions, a salary from government. The preachers found much more difficulty in keeping them together in the Portuguese than the Spanish territories, on account of the harsh treatment which they frequently received from the colonists, against whom their spiritual instructors, however willing, were unable to protect them. Notwithstanding all drawbacks, the inhabitants of the aldeas were generally in a flourishing condition, and contrasted favourably with those of the Spanish settlements farther up the Orellana.

While the members of the Society were thus pursuing their plans of usefulness, the management of the affairs of Portugal was committed to the hands of Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho, better known as the Marquis of Pombal, a statesman of great talents and patriotic intentions, who conceived the design of raising his country from its political degradation by abridging the power of the ecclesiastics, to whose influence he ascribed the existing evils. The Jesuits being the most formidable part of the clergy, it was against them that his measures were especially directed. In 1753, his brother, Francis Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, was appointed governor of Para and Maranham, where his headstrong temper soon brought him into collision with the followers of his patron-saint. He sent home the most unfavourable representations of the order; and, two years afterwards, an edict was issued by the government, which took away their temporal authority, and converted their aldeas into small towns. Various regulations were at the same time passed, which had for their object the intellectual, social, and spiritual improvement of the Indians, whose best interests Pombal sincerely, though without much wisdom, sought to promote. A body of men called directors were appointed to watch over their interests; but they very inadequately supplied the place of the missionaries whom they succeeded. His next step was

to represent to Pope Benedict XIV. that the order had completely degenerated from the rules of its founder, and, in their settlements in the New World, set at defiance all authority, whether of sovereign or pontiff. A commission was in consequence issued by his holiness to Francis de Saldanha, cardinal-patriarch at Lisbon, appointing him visiter of the society in Portugal and its dependencies. This prelate speedily issued a mandate, forbidding them to trade thenceforth on any pretext, alleging that this was incompatible with their vows as clergymen.

The views of Pombal were brought to a crisis by an attempt made to assassinate the King of Portugal, in which one of the leaders accused three Jesuits as his accomplices. As none of these fathers were brought to trial for high treason, the truth of the charge may well be doubted; but the minister chose to regard the whole brotherhood as accessory to the conspiracy; and he so worked upon the fears of his royal master that orders were issued to confiscate the property and secure the persons of all the members resident in Portugal and its colonies. This edict was carried into effect throughout the whole of Portuguese America, and in many places with unnecessary cruelty. From more than one port they were shipped in vessels inadequate for their comfortable conveyance, and, in consequence, several died during the voyage. At Rio de Janeiro 145 were stowed in a ship, below decks, like negroes on the middle passage, and only obtained an alleviation of their miseries, on the representation of the surgeon that such treatment would infallibly produce diseases which might extend to the crew of the vessel. Some of the unfortunate Jesuits were cast into prison at Lisbon, and not released till the death of the king, eighteen years afterwards. Others, without being suffered to land in Portugal, or hold any communication with their friends, were re-embarked for the Mediterranean, and set on shore in the papal states. Some provision was made for them out of the treasury; and Pombal was accustomed to remark

facetiously, that they were the longest-lived body of men he ever knew, for, according to the certificates which he received, none of them had died since the period of their expulsion. Their place in the aldeas was to be filled by secular priests; but these, being generally persons every way inferior to their predecessors, frequently combined with the directors for the purpose of oppressing the Indians. The aldeas from various causes became depopulated; and the ill example given to the natives soon reduced their moral condition very low. Brandam, bishop of Para, a conscientious prelate, who, between the years 1784 and 1788, performed the arduous duty of visiting almost the whole of his very extensive diocese, found reason every where to lament the wretched state of the once prosperous settlements. The houses, he says, "differed from pigsties in nothing except that they were rather more filthy, and less sheltered. A total indifference to every thing beyond mere animal wants was manifested by the people, who evinced the utmost apathy and ignorance with reference to religion."*

Spain was not long in following the example of Portugal. The Jesuits had been of essential service in Paraguay, by extending the territory in the interior, and christianizing the tribes, from whom the settlers must otherwise have experienced the most formidable opposition. They had likewise kept alive what learning existed in America, and had introduced a printing-press into Cordoba, whose university became famous through their means. But the court of Madrid had been misled by a report that the missionaries intended to found an independent empire in Paraguay,—an accusation which, though countenanced by so respectable an authority as Dr Robertson, seems utterly destitute of truth. In 1767, orders were sent to banish all the members of the society from the dominions of the Spanish crown; instructions which were carried into effect with a harshness not designed by the government at home. The

* Southey, vol. iii. pp. 502-547, 698-701.

fathers were robbed of their property, deprived of their papers, and, in some places, the more aged died from the hardships to which they were exposed. Nowhere was the slightest attempt made at resistance ; the Jesuits obeying, without murmur or hesitation, the command to quit the scene of their labours and usefulness. Bucarelli, governor of Buenos Ayres, took great credit to himself for the ease with which he effected the expulsion of the fathers, who were conveyed to Italy, where Faenza and Ravenna were assigned as their places of abode. "No men," says the historian of Brazil, "ever behaved with greater equanimity, under undeserved disgrace, than the last of the Jesuits ; and the extinction of the order was a heavy loss to literature, a great evil to the catholic world, and an irreparable injury to the tribes of South America."

They were succeeded in the spiritual superintendence of the reductions by priests of the various mendicant orders ; but the temporal jurisdiction was placed in the hands of a body of officers named administrators. The new system did not succeed well. At the end of the eighteenth century, the population of the settlements had decreased from more than 100,000 to less than 46,000 ; the Guaranies were miserable and discontented ; and every thing combined to show how exceedingly impolitic was the step of expelling their former instructors. At the same period, the Moxo missions were in a different state. Other clergymen had been substituted for the fathers of the society ; but there were no administrators joined with them in the management of the settlements. As these Indians had been accustomed to think as well as to labour for themselves, they did not feel so deeply the removal of the Jesuits ; and they continued to flourish, retaining the reputation of a brave, industrious, and comparatively polished people. They were good carvers and workers in metal, and, in general, celebrated for excellence in handicrafts. Calico of the finest quality, wax and tallow candles, sugar and rum, were the produce of the missions ; and their pro-

spérité would have been greatly increased, if the jealousy of the Spanish government had allowed them an unrestricted intercourse with Mato Grosso, the nearest port of the Brazilian territories.*

Those establishments of the Jesuits whose history we have traced were the most famous of their missions in America ; but they had likewise numerous stations in Peru and the other parts of the Spanish dominions. Their success, however, does not appear to have been in any respect so remarkable as in Paraguay and Brazil. The incapacity of the Peruvians was at one time reckoned so great, that very few were admitted to partake of the eucharist ; and it seldom happened that any one was admitted to holy orders. In California, the Jesuits acquired, about the close of the seventeenth century, a dominion over the rude inhabitants as complete as that exercised by them in Paraguay. They were charged by their enemies with studiously depreciating the country ; representing the climate as unwholesome, and the soil as barren ; and alleging that nothing but a zealous desire of converting the natives could have induced them to settle there.†

In Canada, some efforts were made by the Romish church to evangelize the inhabitants. In 1611, a few Jesuits were sent thither, who were, however, soon made prisoners by the English. Three years afterwards, some Franciscans arrived at Quebec ; and, in 1625, other Jesuits appeared. Nine years subsequently, two priests, Breboeuf and Daniel, established a mission among the Hurons, who were found hard to convince, but constant after conversion ; while their neighbours, the Algonquins, possessed a character the very reverse. About the same time some Parisian ladies of rank became interested in the welfare of the American aborigines, especially the Duchesses of Montmorenci, Longueville, and Aiguillon, this last being a niece of Cardinal Richelieu. They founded an association, the object of which was to raise

* Southey, vol. iii. pp. 607-616, 687, 688, 841, 842.

† Robertson's History of America, books vii. and viii.

a fund for supporting the missionaries, and furnishing them with articles to improve the condition of the Indians. A young widow of birth and fortune, Chauvine de la Peleterie, was seized with a strong desire to go out to Canada as an evangelist, and, notwithstanding the ridicule of her gay friends, embarked along with three Ursuline nuns and some Jesuits. After a dangerous voyage, they all reached Quebec; and, having ministered some time in the hospital of that city, she took up her residence among the Indians. With a single companion she occupied herself in attending to the temporal and spiritual wants of these poor savages. On hearing of her labours other Ursulines joined the party; and the fame of these missionaries spread so much among the native tribes, that when the French proposed to make peace with the Iroquois, these last professed their willingness to enter into the negotiation, provided they would send into their country a black robe and a white robe, the names by which, from the colour of their dresses, they designated the Jesuits and the Ursulines. La Peleterie and her associates, in their mission among the Algonquins, confined themselves exclusively to the females, especially the younger portion of them, whom they zealously instructed. The Indian girls made much greater progress under the tuition of persons of their own sex than when taught by priests. In 1644, an Algonquin chief was baptized at Montreal, and she was selected as his godmother. Her connexion with this warrior aided in procuring for her that devoted regard among his tribe, which her disinterested services would of themselves have obtained in no small measure. Her bosom-friend, the Ursuline Marie de l'Incarnation, died some time before her. At length La Peleterie, feeling the approach of age, left the Indians, and undertook the charge of the Hotel Dieu Hospital in Quebec, where she expired after a useful career of nearly half a century spent in missionary labour.*

* Carne's Lives of Roman Catholic Missionaries.

Having thus traced the history of Romish missions in the various quarters of the globe, we may remark that we have seen much to admire, and much to lament ; we have been called to contemplate patience, self-denial, unwearied zeal, and indefatigable labour ; but, on the other hand, we have witnessed a reckless haste in admitting evidence of conversion, a compromise of lofty christian principle in concessions to heathenism, and a zeal oftener directed towards the honour of the church than the glory of the Redeemer.* While we may warrantably indulge the hope that, as God has always had his elect in the bosom of the Romish church, corrupt as that community is allowed to be, so, in the course of the three centuries during which papists have laboured among the heathen, not a few may have been called from darkness to light by their means ; still we cannot allow ourselves to suppose, that the good done by their instrumentality has at all corresponded in amount with that effected by protestant agency. It ought therefore to be the fervent prayer of all who duly value the blessed Reformation, that the gospel of Christ may be ere long exhibited to the heathen world only in the purity of its original form.

* There is a vigorous passage in Lactantius (*Divin. Instit.* lib. iii. cap. 17), in which he speaks of the facility with which the Epicurean system adapted itself to persons of the most opposite habits and characters. We fear that a similar unscrupulous flexibility may be charged upon Romanism, both in christian and heathen lands.

CHAPTER IV.

Missions to Southern India.

Protestant Missions—Southern India—Danish Mission at Tranquebar—Ziegenbalg—Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Tamul New Testament—Labours of Schultz—The Tamul Bible completed—Mission at Madras—Care of the Missionaries to prevent false Profession—Aaron, a native Clergyman—Station at Cuddalore—War in India between the French and English—Arrival of Swartz in Hindostan—Anecdotes of him—Jubilee of the Mission—Capture of Cuddalore—Swartz removes to Trichinopoly—Arunasalem—Chequered Career of Kiernander—Swartz's Mode of Life—His indefatigable Labours—His Acquaintance with the Rajah Tuljajee—His sole Publication—He is sent on a Mission to Hyder Ali—Ordination of Kohlhoff—Swartz made Guardian of the Heir to the Throne of Tanjore—Ordination of Sattianaden—Swartz refutes a Calumny made in the House of Commons—His Death and Character—Revival of Religion in Southern India—Visit of Dr C. Buchanan—Recent Events connected with the Mission.

THE honour of originating the first protestant mission to the vast region of Hindostan is due to the crown of Denmark, which had, since the year 1621, possessed the town of Tranquebar and a small adjoining territory on the coast of Coromandel. In 1705, Frederick IV., at the suggestion of Dr Lutkens, one of his chaplains, resolved to make an effort for the conversion of his Indian subjects. Application was made to the distinguished Francke, professor of divinity in the university of Halle to recommend some of his pupils whom he might deem qualified by talents and piety for realizing this important design. He selected Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, who

was afterwards joined by his fellow-student, Henry Plutschö ; and the two friends, having received ordination from the Bishop of Zealand, sailed for the place of their destination, and arrived in July 1706.

Undeterred by the opposition which they experienced from the local authorities, they applied themselves with vigour to the study of the Portuguese and Tamul, the latter of which was the vernacular language of the district, and the former, introduced about two centuries before, was generally understood by the natives. In a few months, they had acquired such a knowledge of these tongues, that they were able to catechise the children in two schools which they supported out of their own slender funds. Ziegenbalg particularly devoted himself to Tamul, and he soon became well acquainted with its literature.

The first convert was Madaliapa, a young man of high rank, who became convinced of the error of idolatry while assisting the missionary to overcome the difficulties of the native idiom. In May 1707, several catechumens were publicly baptized in the Danish church at Tranquebar, and a few days afterwards one of the converts was invested with the office of catechist, to aid the Europeans in the instruction of his countrymen. On the 14th of June, the building of a church was commenced, and the edifice was opened for public worship in August, in the presence of a large body of Christians, Mohammedans, and Pagans. Here the missionaries regularly preached both in Portuguese and Tamul twice every week, and these labours were the means of converting a great number of the people in the neighbourhood. Amidst their pious efforts, Ziegenbalg and Plutschö were severely afflicted by the opposition of many Europeans, and by the loss of two considerable remittances, occasioned by the wreck of the vessels in which they were contained. But, with the assistance of some friends on the spot, they were enabled to maintain themselves till the arrival of three new missionaries, Messrs Grundler, Baving, and Jordan, in July 1709

who carried with them a considerable sum of money, as well as a variety of stores. The opposition of the Danish residents was at last checked by the authoritative interposition of Frederick IV.

In the same year, the Tranquebar mission first became known in England, by the translation of some letters from the missionaries addressed to a friend in London. The Rev. Mr Boehm, chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, called the attention of the recently established Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to the labours of the Danes. In the course of the three following years, that institution, besides transmitting a considerable sum, printed, chiefly for the use of the missionaries, an edition of the Portuguese New Testament, and sent a printing-press, with a considerable quantity of paper. Of the various books and tracts which they were enabled to issue, the most important was a Tamul version of the New Testament, the work of Ziegenbalg, which was published in 1714, after being subjected to a careful revision.

The King of Denmark, who had previously granted to the missionaries at Tranquebar a pension of 2000 crowns, founded in 1714 a missionary college at Copenhagen. In the same year Ziegenbalg, accompanied by a young native convert, proceeded on a voyage to Europe, leaving at the station nearly three hundred converts. On the way, he translated part of the Old Testament into Tamul, and composed a grammar of that language in Latin, which was printed at Halle in 1716, and is still highly esteemed by Oriental scholars. After being graciously received by Frederick, who conferred on him the title of "Inspector of the Missions," and visiting his former preceptor, Francke, he pursued his course to England. There he was presented to George I., and was introduced by Archbishop Wake to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, whose kindness he had several times experienced. From that benevolent body he received a liberal present of money, paper, and books. The Directors of the East India Company gave him a

free passage in one of their vessels ; and he arrived at Tranquebar in August 1716, where he resumed his labours with fresh vigour. A seminary was instituted for the education of native youths as catechists and teachers. Tamul and Portuguese schools were established at Madras and Cuddalore, with the sanction of the governor of the former place. But in the autumn of 1718, the health of Ziegenbalg began to fail ; and, after struggling a few months with disease, he commenced a journey along the coast, in the hope of some relief. On reaching Cuddalore, he found his end approaching, and sent for his friend Grundler, to whom, on his arrival, he expressed an humble but elevated hope of eternal blessedness, and died in peace on the 23d of February 1719, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, lamented by his disciples, and regretted even by the unconverted population.

The piety, prudence, and activity of Ziegenbalg made his loss no ordinary one ; but it was in some measure repaired by the arrival in the following September of three new labourers, Messrs Schultz, Dall, and Kistenmacher. Grundler's strength was greatly impaired ; and during the interval which elapsed between the death of his former colleague and the arrival of these coadjutors, he was accustomed to pray in the congregation with many tears that God would not summon him away while his flock were unable to procure another shepherd. During the winter he rendered essential service to Schultz and his companions by preparing them for their arduous exertions. He died on the 18th March 1720, and was buried in the church, near the remains of his departed associate.*

Not a few, both among friends and foes, believed that the loss of Ziegenbalg and Grundler would inflict a fatal blow upon the Danish mission ; but the devoted zeal of the remaining labourers prevented the dreaded evil. They were soon able to catechise and preach in t native languages ; and, aided by contributions as well in

* Brown's History of Missions, vol. i. p. 158-163. Pearson's Life of Swartz, vol. i. p. 12-28.

India as in Europe, they considerably increased the number of schools under their charge, and of the publications which issued from their press. Within five years from the death of Ziegenbalg the church was augmented by 1500 members.

Ziegenbalg had translated the Old Testament into Tamul as far as the book of Ruth ; and Schultz completed this important work, devoting to it six hours every day. No labour was spared to render the version accurate. Besides consulting the original Hebrew and the German Bible of Luther, he availed himself of whatever assistance might be derived from the French, Spanish, Italian, Danish, and Dutch translations, and was aided in his studies by a learned Brahmin. After the assiduous toil of two years the work was completed, and underwent a careful revision under the eyes of the other brethren. It is to be regretted that the zealous missionary should have thought it necessary to impart to the infant church not merely the pure truths of the word of God, but also the errors and folly of the Apocrypha.

On the death of Dr Francke in 1727, the college at Copenhagen requested his son, who succeeded him in the professorship, to continue the correspondence which his father had very beneficially conducted on behalf of the mission. About the same time, George I. addressed a letter to the brethren at Tranquebar, in which he repeated the favourable opinion expressed by him in a similar way some years before, and renewed his promise of protection. Next year, a station was established at Madras by the Christian Knowledge Society, of which the charge was confided to Schultz. This new institution prospered in spite of the opposition both of Romish priests and native teachers, who, on more than one occasion, carried their hostility to the length of personal violence towards the converts. The zealous missionary translated the whole of the Scriptures into Telinga, and portions of them into Hindostanee.

Meantime, the gospel was introduced into the king-

dom of Tanjore by Rajanaiken, a subaltern in the native army, who was enabled to see the errors of Romanism, in which he had been educated, by the perusal of Ziegenbalg's translation of the Gospels and Acts, and by intercourse with the missionaries at Tranquebar, near which he was stationed. He immediately began to instruct his countrymen, both papists and pagans ; and the first fruits of his exertions were three of his own soldiers, who were baptized by the Danish brethren. Not long afterwards, he renounced the military life, and entered into the service of the mission. Another valuable auxiliary was Sattianaden, son of a Romish catechist, who was sent by his father to Tranquebar to be instructed in what the old man had been led to believe a purer gospel than he had himself been taught. This person was compelled by the priests to return to their communion ; but Sattianaden actively employed himself in making proselytes to the reformed faith, and, in consequence of his success, was constituted a regular teacher.

As the progress of the missions at Tranquebar and Madras required the employment of additional labourers, Messrs Worm and Reichsteig were appointed to the former, and Mr Sartorius was sent out by the Christian Knowledge Society to the latter. They arrived in August 1730, and, two years after, were followed by Giesler and Crall, the latter a medical gentleman.

Although the missionaries had to struggle with the obstacles presented by the pride of the Brahmins, and the blind fatalism of the lower orders, who imagined themselves inevitably destined to eternal ruin, they every year had the pleasure of beholding an increase in the numbers of believers. Nor were they at all desirous to swell the band of proselytes by the acceptance of insufficient evidence of conversion ; on the contrary, they employed the utmost care in preparing the candidates for admission into the church. When any requested to have their names placed on the roll of catechumens, they were taken under the inspection of the brethren, and instructed in the principles of religion.

They were first admitted to a *general* preparation, which varied in length from a few months to a whole year, or even longer, according to the intelligence and docility of the disciples. If the instructor was satisfied with their deportment during this period, he allowed them to come forward to the *particular* preparation, in which four or five weeks were generally employed. In short, all precautions were taken that none should be baptized or admitted to the Lord's table who were defective in christian knowledge or in the marks of a renewed heart.

Besides providing for the spiritual training of converts, the missionaries were often obliged to expend a portion of their funds in administering to the temporal wants, either of persons from a distance who came to receive tuition, or of those proselytes whose worldly interests suffered from their embracing Christianity. They were often at considerable expense in providing for their followers the means of supporting themselves and families by manual labour.

In consequence of the increasing number of disciples, the missionaries deemed it expedient to ordain a native to the ministry. They fixed upon Aaron, a catechist of respectable family, who had been baptized by Ziegenbalg, and distinguished during many years by piety and talents. At the close of 1733, this individual, then about thirty-five years of age, was admitted to orders, according to the rites of the Lutheran church, by the brethren at Tranquebar and Madras. He was appointed to officiate in a district of Tanjore, which contained several congregations of native Christians; and, in the course of the following year, he was instrumental in converting no fewer than fifty of his countrymen.

During the year 1735, the Tranquebar station endured a heavy loss in the deaths of Messrs Reichsteig and Worm. Among the literary labours of this period were a grammar in Tamul and German, and a History of the Church, composed by Mr Walther in the former

language. This work, which was designed to refute the false opinions of the Roman Catholics, was more specially intended for the instruction of those natives who were to be educated as catechists and schoolmasters. About the same time, Sartorius completed the *Tamul Dictionary*, which had been begun by Ziegenbalg. This excellent man, in company with Giesler, founded a mission at Cuddalore in 1737, but died the following year, greatly lamented. He possessed a thorough acquaintance with the *Tamul*, which the most learned natives acknowledged that he spoke like a Brahmin. Mr Pressier of Tranquebar speedily followed him to the grave. But soon after these bereavements, Messrs Wiedebroeck, Obuch, and Kohlhoff, arrived from Germany, and were followed by Mr Kiernander, a native of Sweden, who was recommended by Professor Francke to succeed Sartorius in the Cuddalore station. To these were added Fabricius and Zegler, from the Royal Mission College at Copenhagen, whose destination was Tranquebar, and who carried out a large supply of money and stores. About the end of the year 1740, a catechist named Diego, of approved piety and usefulness, was ordained to assist the native preacher Aaron, whose growing infirmities did not allow him to perform his ministerial duties to a large congregation.

In 1742, the Madras mission was deprived of the services of Schultz, whose ill health obliged him to return to Europe, after more than twenty years' residence in India. His place was immediately supplied by Fabricius. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge found the expense of their missions press heavily upon their funds; but they determined nevertheless to persevere in their pious labours, trusting, as they officially declared, "that the same wise and good providence of God which had hitherto blessed them in all their undertakings to spread the pure gospel of his Son Christ Jesus in all parts of the world, would raise up benefactors to contribute whatever might be wanted towards it." Professor Francke sent out, at his own charge, Messrs Breithaupt

and Klein to Tranquebar, and made several large remittances to the support both of the Madras and the Cuddalore stations.

War having broken out between France and England, the troops of the former reduced Madras in September 1746; and, though the new governor promised to protect the mission, the house belonging to it was destroyed, and the church converted into a magazine, in consequence of orders given to improve the defences of the town. Upon this, Fabricius retired with the children of his school to the neighbouring settlement of Pulicat, where he was kindly received by the Dutch, and remained till the restoration of peace in 1748. Through the interposition of Admiral Boscawen, the mission, after some delay, succeeded in obtaining possession of a house and church at Vepery, near the town, with the garden and burying-ground attached to them, of which the Romanists had been deprived for their treasonable communications with the French during the war. About the same time, the popish church at Cuddalore was transferred to Mr Kierlander, for the use of the missionaries under the Christian Knowledge Society.*

In 1750, there arrived in India a man whom the unanimous voice of the protestant world has proclaimed the greatest of modern missionaries, Christian Frederick Swartz. He was born on the 26th of October 1726 at Sonnerburg, a small town in what was then the electorate of Brandenburg, but is now the kingdom of Prussia. Though conscious of many serious impressions in his earlier years, he did not become decidedly pious till he went to the university of Halle in 1746, and enjoyed the friendship of Professor Francke. He was led to study Tamul by his acquaintance with the retired missionary Schultz, who wished him to correct for the press a new edition of the Bible in that language, which it was in contemplation to print. About the same time, he learned that the professor was making inquiries for

* Brown, p. 163-182. Pearson, p. 28-49.

new labourers in India ; and he determined to offer himself, if he could obtain his father's concurrence. After deliberating two or three days, the old man gave his consent and his blessing, bidding him depart in God's name, and win many souls to Christ.

Swartz accordingly, with two other missionaries, Poltzenhagen and Hutteman, went to Copenhagen, where they were ordained by Bishop Horreboe. The three labourers then visited England, and, during their stay in the metropolis, preached several times, Swartz officiating both at the royal chapel and the Savoy. Embarking at Deal, after a voyage of four months they arrived on the 17th of July at Cuddalore, whence they proceeded to Tranquebar ; and on the 23d of November, Swartz preached his first sermon in Tamul in Ziegenbalg's church. It was a plain and earnest exhibition of those evangelical views which ever after formed the essence of his discourses. He speedily entered upon the career of missionary exertion, which chiefly consisted in catechising, conversing with the natives in the town and neighbouring villages, and preparing the candidates for baptism. He early displayed remarkable tact in adapting himself to the circumstances of all classes of the heathen population. One of the chief obstacles to his success, as well as to that of other early labourers in the Indian vineyard, arose from the wicked lives of the nominal Christians around him. One day, meeting a Hindoo dancing-master with a female pupil, he told them that no unholy persons would enter the kingdom of heaven. "Ah, sir," said the poor girl, "in that case, hardly any European will ever enter it." A native said to the missionary, "show us any one who has embraced your religion, and has been actually saved, and we will believe you." Swartz replied, in the spirit of Abraham's answer in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, "God has given you his word ; prove and examine it. Such an evidence as you require is not the appointed way of becoming convinced of the truth ; for the devil can transform himself into an angel of light."

A more pleasing anecdote is that of a poor Hindoo woman, who, being bitterly reproached by her son and daughter-in-law, endured her trials with so much meekness that she at length induced them to seek acquaintance with a religion which inculcated a conduct so superior to their own. On being visited by Swartz, she told him that she prayed night and day, and put her trust in God alone ; adding, that He provided her with work, and that she was content if she could sometimes gather a few herbs, as she was then doing, for her support.

On the 5th of October every year, there was printed at Tranquebar a short account in the German language, setting forth their proceedings, and stating the number of native Christians belonging to the three congregations which constituted the Danish mission. The increase of the congregations, the number of missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters, with various other particulars, were also inserted in this publication. On the same day, the brethren wrote their annual reports to the King of Denmark, and to each branch of the royal family, which were transmitted without delay to these illustrious personages.

A dispute having about this period arisen between the papists and heathens at Tanjore, the former were subjected to a persecution which extended itself, though not severely, to the protestant converts. The missionaries at Tranquebar speedily discovering the extraordinary talents of Swartz, gave him the superintendence of all the christian churches and schools south of the river Cavery.

Nothing of particular importance occurred from this period till 1756, when Mr Poltzenhagen, at the request of the Danish government, accompanied a band of colonists to the Nicobar Islands, to act as their chaplain, and endeavour to promote the cause of Christianity among the natives. He had just begun to converse in the language of the islands, when a short illness terminated his life on the 28th of November, in the flower of

his age. The same year, on the 9th of July, the missionaries celebrated a jubilee, that being the anniversary of the day when, fifty years before, the first protestant labourers landed on the shores of India. About the same time three Mohammedans were baptized at Vepery, being the first fruits of that class of natives on the Coromandel coast.

Hostilities were now raging between the French and English, who contended for the superiority in the Carnatic. Several of the native states took part in the contest, and the Mahrattas in particular were very active in their annoyance of our countrymen and their allies. Scouring the country with their cavalry, massacring the inhabitants, and destroying or carrying off the crops, they inflicted much suffering upon the converts in the Madras and Cuddalore districts. The French, too, were successful in many of their operations, and in May 1758, they became masters of Cuddalore by capitulation. The missionaries, Kiernander and Hutteman, were treated with great politeness by Count Lally, who allowed them to retire to Tranquebar with their property and several native families. On the day after their departure some Jesuits arrived from Pondicherry, and severely censured the general for his lenity to their protestant rivals. Kiernander proceeded to Calcutta in September, for the purpose of establishing a mission there; while his colleague returned in 1760 to Cuddalore, which had been retaken by the British.

In December 1758, the French began to invest Madras, and their Mohammedan auxiliaries plundered the missionaries and converts at Vepery, but providentially did not injure their persons. No redress could be obtained from the European officers, who, however, expressed their regret that the brethren had not previously applied to them for protection. Their manuscripts and correspondence were happily preserved, and the benevolence of some friends at Fort St George speedily supplied their several wants. In the following spring, when

Madras was on the eve of capitulation, it was saved by the appearance of the English fleet; and in a few weeks, the missionaries returned to the wonted scene of their labours.

In 1762, Swartz paid his first visit to Tanjore and Trichinopoly, and at the former of those cities was permitted to preach in the rajah's presence. Those places continued from this time to be the objects of his attention; but it was not till 1766 that he removed to the latter, where a mission was established by the Christian Knowledge Society in consequence of representations from India.

Some time previously, Mr Hutteman at Cuddalore converted a priest named Arunasalem, a man of the highest caste, of considerable talents, and of great learning. Even in early life this person had become concerned about his soul, and when only fourteen years of age resolved not merely to become a votary of Isuren, but to visit all the holy pagodas and wash in their sacred waters, in the hope of obtaining salvation. A profound study of the Hindoo mythology convinced him that it was erroneous; and, proceeding to Cuddalore, he found in the gospel a religious system that satisfied alike his understanding and his heart. Upon his conversion, the members of the sacerdotal college to which he belonged addressed to him a letter of expostulation, and received from him a suitable reply.*

Hutteman's former colleague, Kiernander, had gone to Calcutta, where his brilliant talents and polished manners gained him access to the best society, so that General Clive was induced to approve of his design to establish a mission. A dwelling was given him by the government, and he soon opened a school which, the year after his arrival, afforded instruction to 175 children, of whom 40 were taught at his own expense. He engaged in various other useful labours, but, a short time afterwards, sustained a severe loss in the death of his wife,

* Pearson, vol. i. p. 56-158. Brown, pp. 187, 188.

whose piety and affection had greatly promoted his best interests. He next married Mrs Wolley, a wealthy widow ; a connexion which proved detrimental to his religious improvement and consistency, for he lived in great style, and mingled freely with the rich and worldly. He doubtless flattered himself that he might thus be productive of good to his new associates, but he experienced the usual fate of those who would promote God's cause by means which he has never sanctioned ; he was allowed to fall into a long course of backsliding. Yet, even in this melancholy situation, he never altogether lost an interest in spiritual things. In December 1769, he completed the erection of a mission church, which was named Beth Tephillah, or the house of prayer. This cost him £3000, and other buildings for the use of the mission, £4000 more. He converted an active Jesuit named Marcellino Romaleta, and employed as assistants to himself two other priests, Bento de Silvestre and Manuel da Costa, who had abjured the errors of Romanism. But his expensive manner of living involved him in difficulties, and, after an ineffectual attempt to relieve himself by engaging in mercantile speculations, he had the mortification to see his fortune utterly wrecked, and even Beth Tephillah exposed to sale. It was purchased for missionary purposes by the late Charles Grant, who ever took a lively interest in the spread of the gospel, particularly in India. Another missionary supplied Kiernander's place, and he left Calcutta to become chaplain to the Dutch settlement at Chinsurah. Here his income scarcely raised him above poverty. On the capture of the town, he received a small allowance from the English, who suffered him to return to Calcutta, where he was admitted into the house of a relation of one of his wives. Not long after, he broke his thigh by a fall, and lingered several months in agony. On his deathbed he experienced the consolations of the gospel, and the benefit of affliction, when sanctified by the Spirit, to draw the soul to God. He has left an example of the evil effects of prosperity,

and of the kindness of God in receiving and comforting his backsliding children.*

We return from this mournful but instructive history to the proceedings of Swartz in his new sphere of exertion. As the slightest particulars having reference to so distinguished a man are fraught with interest, we insert the following description of his appearance and mode of life, given by a much-valued friend, whose acquaintance with him commenced soon after his removal to Trichinopoly :—" His garb, which was pretty well worn, seemed foreign and old-fashioned ; but in every other respect his appearance was the reverse of all that could be called forbidding or morose. Figure to yourself a stout well-made man, somewhat above the middle size, erect in his carriage and address, with a complexion rather dark though healthy, black curled hair, and a manly engaging countenance expressive of unaffected candour, ingenuousness, and benevolence ; and you will have an idea of what Mr Swartz appeared to be at first sight. He obtained of the commanding officer, who perhaps was ordered to furnish him with quarters, a room in an old Gentoo building, which was just large enough to hold his bed and himself, and in which few men could stand upright. With this apartment he was contented. A dish of rice and vegetables dressed after the manner of the natives was what he could always sit cheerfully down to ; and a piece of dimity dyed black, and other materials of the same homely sort, sufficed him for an annual supply of clothing."

Besides preaching incessantly to the natives, both in the town and surrounding country, he exerted himself to promote the spiritual welfare of the garrison of Trichinopoly, which was destitute of a chaplain. At first, from his imperfect acquaintance with the language, he contented himself with reading, besides the liturgy, a sermon of some evangelical English divine ; but he was soon able to preach. The soldiers assembled for some time in a large apartment ; but a spacious and hand-

* Brown, p. 213-216. *Carne's Lives of Missionaries.*

some church was ere long built, the expense being defrayed by the contributions of the officers and men. It was opened in May 1766, and the impressive dedication prayer which Swartz offered up on that occasion has been preserved. A salary of £100 a-year was conferred upon him unsolicited by the Governor of Madras, with which he built a mission-house, consisting of a hall and two rooms, with suitable offices, and subsequently an English and a Tamul school. He expressed his intention, with the approbation of the Society, under whose sanction he laboured, to devote regularly one-half of his allowance for the use of his congregation.

In a journey undertaken by him not long after his establishment at Trichinopoly, he heard a Brahmin make the candid confession, "it is the lust of the eyes and of pleasure that prevents us from embracing the truth." He has the following remarks upon this incident,—
"St Paul enumerates idolatry among the works of the flesh, and corrupt nature does indeed derive support from it in more ways than one. If it were only an error of the understanding, the greater number of heathen would already have forsaken it; but being a work of the flesh, and Christianity requiring its crucifixion, they stop there. May divine power rescue them from it through Jesus Christ!"

During the two years' war with Hyder Ali, which commenced in 1767, Swartz found occupation for his benevolent mind in attending the sick and wounded, and in various ways rendering himself useful to the British cause. About this period he thus writes, "O that the Europeans in this country would discern the glory of God! Should He graciously work a thorough change and reformation among the principal Europeans, a blessing would spread through the whole land. Multitudes of abominations might be prevented, and thus the obstacles which have hitherto deterred the natives from embracing the gospel might be lessened."*

* The following extract from Simeon's Memorial Sketches of the Rev. David Brown will show the state of religion among

In 1769, Swartz was introduced to Tuljajee, the rajah of Tanjore, to which city he had gone on a visit. The prince wished for a closer intercourse with him than was permitted by his ministers, by whom, according to the custom of oriental sovereigns, he was, notwithstanding his despotic authority, very much swayed. The missionary added to his means of usefulness by acquiring a knowledge of Hindostanee and Persian. He had already obtained many seals of his ministry; but few appear to have given him greater pleasure than the conversion of a young Pandaram, who for seven years had in vain sought rest for his soul in the superstitious observances of Hindooism.

By the year 1770, Swartz had five catechists in his service, who received monthly two pagodas, or sixteen shillings; a sum which, though small enough to support themselves and their families, was all that his limited funds enabled him to give them. About the same time

the Europeans in India during the last century :—"A lady, on being spoken to upon her utter disregard of the Lord's day, maintained that she always religiously observed it. 'For,' said she, 'every Sunday morning I read over the church service to myself, while my woman is curling my hair.' Another lady being urged to attend divine service, said, she had been more than twelve years a resident in Calcutta, and twice married; but it had been out of her power in all that time to go to church, because she had never had an offer from any beau to escort her there, and hand her to a pew! She was perfectly serious in urging this difficulty, and on its being removed by an immediate offer from a gentleman who was present to usher her into the church, she accepted the engagement to go the following Sunday. The domestic work-table was nearly as regularly surrounded on the Sunday forenoons as the card-table was on Sunday evenings. One lady, who indeed professed to feel scruples respecting the use of her own needle, judged, nevertheless, it would be absurd to restrain that of her husband's daughter, 'since she was the child of a native mother, and could be nothing better than the *dusees* (Mohammedan sempstresses); and she therefore ought and should do her needlework the same as they on Sunday, equally with any other day.' If, as is usually thought to be true, the female sex is more remarkable than the other for piety in every land, it must be supposed that the state of the male part of the British society in India was still less favourable to the interests of the christian religion at that period."

the number of pious soldiers in the garrison amounted to about thirty, who strengthened their pastor's hands by their consistent lives. In 1772, he, with his catechists and congregation, was mercifully preserved from a great danger, occasioned by the explosion of the magazine, which deprived many Europeans and natives of their lives. In the same year, there occurred the conversion of a man upwards of a hundred years old, whose death took place soon after in the spirit of christian faith. On a visit to Tanjore, gaining access to the king, he exhorted him to give his heart to God, but received the reply, "alas! my padre, that is no easy matter." The prince, wishing to obtain his good offices in some political transactions, said, "padre, I have confidence in you, because you are indifferent to money." The rajah was soon afterwards deposed by the Madras government, and his territory occupied by the Nabob of Arcot; but this act being disapproved by the Court of Directors, the de-throned monarch was restored to his authority. About the same time, the Rev. J. J. Schoelkopf, who was recommended to the Christian Knowledge Society by Professor Freylinghausen of Halle, was sent to India as a colleague to Swartz, but died shortly after his arrival.

At the request of the Rajah of Tanjore, the missionary acquired the Mahratta language, which was that spoken at the court, and he translated into it the only work ever published by him, a dialogue between a Christian and a heathen, originally composed in the Tamul tongue, and still extensively circulated along the Coromandel coast. He was enabled to make more frequent visits to Tanjore, by the arrival at Trichinopoly of the Rev. Christian Pohlé, who, previously stationed at Tranquebar, was sent by the brethren there to assist Swartz, and received into the service of the society just mentioned. The new missionary made himself master of the English language in order to be more generally useful, and from this time the other fixed his residence chiefly at Tanjore.

In 1779, he was requested by Sir Thomas Rumbold, the governor at Madras, to undertake a confidential mission to Hyder Ali. He consented, because this journey was for the purpose of preserving peace, and would afford him opportunities of preaching in places not otherwise likely to be visited, besides enabling him to testify his gratitude to the East India Company for their kindness to him. He took every opportunity of proclaiming the truths of the gospel during this expedition, and was received with civility by Hyder, who expressed his willingness to maintain peace with the English, if they would keep faith with him. In the month of April 1780, an edifice, erected by his exertions at Tanjore, was opened for public worship, and denominated Christ Church. It was calculated to accommodate 500 persons. But two months after, Hyder Ali, dissatisfied with the proceedings of our countrymen and their allies, invaded the Carnatic with 100,000 men, carrying desolation and terror to the very gates of Madras. The inhabitants of the country fled for refuge to the towns, and occasioned a famine there, of which many persons died, so that a missionary at Tranquebar on one occasion counted sixteen corpses lying in the streets, within a narrow space. Swartz and the other brethren exerted themselves to the utmost in order to provide the necessaries of life for the wretched sufferers. So highly was the former respected by the invader that he gave orders to his officers to leave him unmolested and treat him with respect and kindness, "for," said the despot, "he is a holy man and means no harm to my government." He was generally allowed to pass without difficulty through the midst of the enemy's encampments, and even when it was deemed necessary to detain his palanquin, the sentinel was directed to assign as a reason that he was waiting for orders to let him proceed. His services were experienced by the English government on two remarkable occasions, when his influence with the natives procured an ample supply of provisions to the fort of Tanjore, which no efforts of the other

Europeans could obtain. During the war Cuddalore capitulated to the French, who had taken part in the hostilities, and the representations of Mr Gerické, the missionary, prevailed upon their general not to deliver it up to the troops of Hyder, thus preserving it from the most cruel treatment ; but from this period that town ceased to receive the benefit of a resident labourer in the gospel.

As the successes of the British arms in 1783 rendered Tippoo, the successor of Hyder, disposed to treat for peace, Swartz was requested by the governor of Madras to join the commissioners appointed to conduct the negotiation ; but being prevented from accomplishing his journey and obliged to return, he declined to undertake a second expedition which was pressed upon him. The peace was therefore concluded in March 1784, without his being present.

Some years previously, his attention was first directed to the district of Tinnevely, and he had once visited it. In 1785, he sent a catechist to Palamcotta, which is in that country, about 200 miles south-west of Trichinopoly. We find that soon afterwards the growing importance of the congregation required the labours of two additional instructors, and that it was visited once a-year by a native priest from Tranquebar for the administration of the sacraments.

The Rajah of Tanjore, afflicted by an incurable disease and by the death of all his family, shut himself up in the recesses of his palace, and confided the management of affairs to his prime-minister. Baba, whose oppressive measures obliged many of the inhabitants to emigrate, whilst those who remained were reduced to the greatest distress. It became necessary for the Madras government to appoint a committee of inspection with very large powers, to watch over the interests of Tanjore. A seat at this board being given to Swartz, he exerted his influence to prevent coercive measures from being adopted against the rajah, who was so sensible of his good offices that he implored him to prevail upon his subjects who had emigrated to resume their habitations.

He did so, and numbers of these poor people returned, who, on being reminded that the best season for cultivating the land had nearly elapsed, replied, "as you have shown kindness to us, we intend to work night and day to manifest our regard for you;" and they laboured with so much vigour that the crop was better than it had been the previous year.

On the 23d of January 1787 occurred the first ordination of a European protestant in India. The individual thus admitted to the ministry was the Rev. J. C. Kohlhoff, son of the venerable president of the Tranquebar brethren, who had for half a century served God in the holy function. The ceremony took place at Tranquebar in the presence of the whole body of missionaries, whose proceedings were countenanced by the governor and the English residents of the place. The rites of the Lutheran church were observed, and the ordination sermon was preached by Swartz, from 2 Tim. ii. 1. The new labourer, indeed, had been educated under his eye, and he knew his piety and had had proofs of his usefulness. Various preparatory trials had fitted him for thus becoming the stated assistant of his venerable instructor.

During the absence of Swartz upon this interesting occasion, the Rajah of Tanjore adopted a distant relative of his own, Serfojee, who was then quite a boy. Upon the missionary's return, he summoned him to the palace, and in the most solemn manner intrusted to him the care of the child's person and education. As a farther token of his confidence, at the request of the preacher, he named Ameer Sing, his brother, regent of the kingdom, and shortly afterwards expired. By the intrigues of Ameer, the Madras government were prevailed upon to raise him to the throne, he having induced certain learned Hindoos to declare that the settlement of Tulfajee was contrary to the principles of their religion. He treated Serfojee with great harshness, but that youth was, by the good offices of Swartz, delivered from his captivity in the palace, and after the lapse of some

years, on the discovery of the corruption practised by the regent, was reinstated in his kingdom.

Through the exertions of the missionary and Mr Sullivan, resident at Tanjore, the rajahs of that city and the great and little Marawar had consented to establish English schools in their respective capitals. They had partially endowed them; and the East India Company, sensible of the benefits attending such a scheme, directed the Governor of Madras to pay 250 pagodas per annum to each of these seminaries and any others which might be set on foot, being under the superintendence of Swartz, Pohlé, and Kohlhoff. Religion was not the professed object of those institutions; but it was hoped that they would prove subsidiary to the progress of the christian faith. The seminary at Tanjore was soon attended by the children of the highest native families; where, in October 1788, the Rev. Mr Joenicke, who had recently arrived in India, took up his residence. After profiting for some time by the usual instructions, he was despatched to Palamcotta, where Sattianaden, a native catechist of great zeal and usefulness, had during several years been constantly labouring. This interesting personage was, in December 1790, ordained according to the rites of the Lutheran church, on which occasion he delivered a sermon in Tamul, which, being translated into English, was published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, as a proof that the natives of Hindostan were capable of discharging the functions of the ministry.

The Rev. Mr Caemerrer, who had lately gone out as a missionary to Tranquebar, spent in 1791 three months at Tanjore, studying the Tamul language, and thus speaks of Swartz:—"His unfeigned piety, his real and conscientious attention to every branch of his duties, his sincerity,—in short his whole demeanour filled me with reverence and admiration. Many an evening passed away as if it had been but a single moment, so exceedingly interesting proved the conversation of this truly venerable man, and his relations of the singular and

merciful guidance of God, of which he had experienced so many proofs throughout his life, but particularly during the dreadful wars in India. On my taking leave he said, shaking hands with much warmth, 'O that we may meet again before the throne of God.'" Mr Caemmerer also observes, that Swartz had often successfully exerted his influence to prevent suttees taking place. Two years afterwards, the venerable missionary visited Vepery, near Madras, where Gerické was labouring; and the Palamcotta station, under the joint superintendence of Joenicke and Sattianaden, continued to prosper greatly.

In 1793, during the progress of a bill through the House of Commons for the renewal of the Company's charter, Mr Montgomery Campbell, who had been private secretary to the Governor of Madras, took occasion to throw contempt upon all efforts for promoting the religious improvement of the Hindoos, and remarked, that the converts were generally notorious for profligacy. He indeed spoke in praise of Swartz's personal character; but this was a poor compensation for the gross misrepresentations in his speech; and the missionary, on procuring a sight of his philippic, penned an able reply to it in a letter to the secretary of the Christian Knowledge Society, which was published in the report of that institution. He says,—“One thing I affirm before God and man, that if Christianity, in its plain and undisguised form, were properly promoted, the country would not suffer, but be benefited by it. I am now upon the brink of eternity; but to this moment I declare, that I do not repent of having spent forty-three years here in the service of my divine Master.” The author of the mis-statements afterwards apologized to him for having made them.

A year or two after this defence of christian missions, his health began to fail; he suffered much; but never did a single murmur escape his lips. The Rajah Serfojee, whose interests he had taken every opportunity to promote, paid him a visit, and received from him a

dying charge, in which he was exhorted to exercise justice, practise kindness, protect the Christians, and turn from idolatry to the service of the living God. Soon afterwards, one of his friends, observing him apparently lifeless, began to sing a favourite hymn, "Only to thee, Lord Jesus Christ," and finished the first verse. On commencing the second, to his astonishment and delight, the venerable missionary revived, and, with a clear voice, accompanied him to the conclusion. Not long after, he breathed his last, on the 13th of February 1798, in the seventy-second year of his age. His funeral took place the next day in the presence of the rajah, the resident, most of the European gentlemen, and a large number of native Christians, inconsolable for the loss of so valued a friend.

Swartz never married; and he has left on record his decided disapprobation of a missionary's entering into the connubial state, at least till he has learned the language of the people among whom he is sent to labour, and fully entered upon his work. He adds, that if a missionary will marry, he ought to be well assured of the real piety of his wife, who otherwise would prove an impediment to him in the discharge of his duty.

The character of this good man has been often drawn; and it were here superfluous to pass an elaborate panegyric on him. His latest biographer, Dean Pearson, says, "simplicity, moderation, self-denial, activity, regularity, patience, kindness, courtesy, cheerfulness, pervaded his every thought, word, and action." Bishop Heber observes that "he was really one of the most active and fearless, as he was one of the most successful missionaries who have appeared since the apostles. To say that he was disinterested in regard to money is nothing; he was perfectly regardless of power; and renown never seemed to affect him, even so far as to induce an outward show of humility." His converts were between 6000 and 7000 in number. Bishop James, the accomplished successor of Heber in the see of Calcutta, remarked, "let us have another Swartz in temper, in manner, in judg-

ment, and in christian feeling, and I fear not to say, that under the blessing of God we may look for a Swartz's success."

Monuments were erected to his memory by the Rajah of Tanjore and the East India Company. The former, executed by Flaxman, was placed in the chief city ; the latter, intrusted to the talents of Bacon, appears at Madras. Both had reliefs, representing the deathbed of the saintly patriarch, who was surrounded by his brethren in the mission and some of the orphan children of his school. The rajah likewise wrote some lines to his memory, which are at least curious :—

" Firm wast thou, humble and wise,
Honest, pure, free from disguise,
Father of orphans, the widow's support,
Comfort in sorrow of every sort.
To the benighted, dispenser of light,
Doing and pointing to that which is right.
Blessing to princes, to people, to me ;
May I, my father, be worthy of thee !
Wisheth and prayeth thy Sarabojee."

But perhaps the most interesting memorial of his worth was the fund of between eight and ten thousand pounds which he bequeathed for the benefit of the Tanjore mission and its branch at Tinnevely. This large sum was the result of the accumulation of his salary as chaplain to the garrison ; and the revenue arising from it is still applied to the support of the stations in Southern India.*

In the year 1796, there were three teachers at Tranquebar, who were supported by the Royal Mission College at Copenhagen and the directors of the Orphan House at Halle in Saxony. The number of converts made at that station since it was established amounted to 19,340.

In 1800, Joenicke followed Swartz to the grave. Soon after, Gerické sent to the Christian Knowledge Society gratifying accounts of the progress of the gospel, both

* Pearson's Life of Swartz. Brown vol. i. p. 193-212.

at Tanjore and in the more southern parts of the peninsula. This awakening had extended to the island of Ceylon. In 1803, the same labourer took a journey into the Tinnevely district, where he states that he met with the most remarkable proofs of religious concern among the people; and, in the course of his tour, he baptized 1700 persons. After his departure, the native ministers instructed and received into the church 2300 individuals. Different views have been taken of the missionary's conduct in this matter; some censuring it as precipitate; while others think that the supposed converts were really such, and that the fact of a spiritual harvest so extraordinary may be explained by the assiduous labours of the native teachers and the earnest prayers of the missionaries for the descent of the Spirit. Not long afterwards, Gerické died of an affection of the bowels, in the sixty-second year of his age and the thirty-eighth of his missionary labours. He was generally regarded as second only to Swartz; and the integrity which constantly marked his career procured for him the title of "the primitive Christian." In 1800, he rebuilt the church at Cuddalore out of his own funds; and, at his decease, he left to the Vepery mission 15,000 star pagodas or about £6000. Some time after his death, Mr Christopher Horst, who had for several years been very useful in rendering assistance to the missionary brethren, received Lutheran ordination from Messrs Pohlé, Kohlhoff, and Holtzberg, and, with the approbation of the Christian Knowledge Society, was appointed to a share in the extensive labours of the Tanjore station.

In the year 1806, Dr Claudius Buchanan visited Southern India. At Tranquebar, he found three missionaries, who complained of having suffered much from European infidelity. Preparations had been made during that very year for celebrating the second jubilee of the mission; but the French principles which influenced the government caused them to refuse it any countenance, and consequently it was not observed

with the desired solemnity. The venerable Dr John observed to his visiter, "I have always remarked that the disciples of Voltaire are the true enemies of missions, and that the enemies of missions are, in general, the disciples of Voltaire." On proceeding to Tanjore, Buchanan heard the rajah speak with the same tender regard for Swartz which, several years afterwards, he testified in conversation with Bishops Middleton and Heber. The brethren complained of the dearth of labourers, occasioned by the prevalence of neological sentiments in Germany. On the Sabbath, he was astonished at the general practice of taking down the sermon by the congregation; the writers employing an iron pen to trace the characters on the palmyra leaf. He was assured that many of the elder students and catechists would not lose a word if the speaker pronounced deliberately. It was an old custom that the discourse of the morning should be read to the schools in the evening by the catechist from his vegetable manuscript. The preacher was likewise in the habit of stopping in the middle of his address to put a question to the congregation, who answered it with one voice. The object was to keep the attention of the audience awake, and its utility had been well tested by Ziegenbalg, who introduced it. Next day, Dr Buchanan heard Sattianaden, the native clergyman, deliver a sermon in Tamul, with much natural eloquence and visible effect.

The mission at Tanjore was at this time partly supported from the private funds of Mr Kohlhoff,* who could not well afford it, but was obliged to do so in order to preserve the remote congregations recently called into existence. There were then upwards of 10,000 Protestant Christians belonging to the Tanjore and Tinne-

* In a manuscript of this gentleman we find the following remarkable fact:—"Since the foundation of our mission, which is now one hundred years, and during which period upwards of fifty missionaries have arrived from Europe, among the many ships that have been lost there never perished one vessel which had a missionary on board."—Buchanan's *Christian Researches*, p. 270.

velly districts, who had not among them a single complete copy of the Bible, and not one in a hundred had a New Testament. There were some copies of the Tamul scriptures still at Tranquebar, but the poor natives could not afford to buy them. A subscription of £1000 was raised in Bengal for the purchase of these copies, and defraying the expense of a new edition. It was at this period that the indifference of the home authorities to the religious interests of the Europeans in their service wrung from Buchanan the bitter words, "O England, England! it is not for thine own goodness that Providence giveth thee the treasures of India."

Upon the death of Horst in 1810, the brethren found it necessary to ordain four natives as labourers in the Tanjore and Palamcotta districts. In the same year, Dr John opened a free school in a village near Tranquebar, upon the combined principles of the Madras and Lancasterian systems. As the experiment succeeded, other seminaries upon the same plan were instituted, and to prevent all jealousy of his attempt on the part of the heathen, the missionary informed them that his object was merely to teach their children reading, writing, and arithmetic, by a shorter and easier process than the common one. The benevolent missionary, at the beginning of his exertions, did not know how he should obtain the means necessary for the support of the schools. The first to patronise him was the Rajah of Tanjore, and the undertaking was afterwards countenanced by the Church Missionary Society, which made liberal contributions, and enabled him to extend his plans. In 1816, Bishop Middleton visited Tranquebar, and relieved the mission there from some severe embarrassments into which it had fallen. The Danish government, not long after, paid the debt which the brethren had at that time incurred, and engaged for its future support. Some years ago, a very interesting account of the native believers in Tinnevely was given by the Rev. James Hough (the historian of Christianity in India), who, in 1816, had gone out to Palamcotta as chaplain. The churches

were generally built of unburnt brick, and covered with palmyra leaves. A country priest, named Viswasanaden, a pupil of Swartz, laboured with great ability and usefulness. The reverend visiter was particularly struck with the quiet appearance of two villages, inhabited entirely by Protestants, whose demeanour afforded an edifying contrast to the conduct of their heathen countrymen. The missions, formerly under the superintendence of the Christian Knowledge Society, have been lately transferred to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and placed under the episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Madras.*

* Brown's History of Missions, vol. i. p. 213-228. Buchanan's Christian Researches, p. 61-76. Pearson's Life of Swartz.

CHAPTER V.

Missions to Southern India continued.

Church Missionary Society—Rhenius—Case of a Guru—The Jainas—Tinnevely Mission—Harmony of the Gospels—Revised Tamul Testament—Christian Villages—Dispute between the Society and Rhenius—His Death—Church of Scotland's Mission at Madras—Recent Events connected with it.

IN 1800, an association was formed in London consisting of members of the English establishment, which is now known under the name of the Church Missionary Society. Their object was to provide missionaries for Africa and the East ; but they sent none to India till 1813, when, on the renewal of the Company's charter, parliament formally sanctioned the free access of christian labourers to that country. The first envoys of salvation were the Rev. John C. Schnarre and C. T. E. Rhenius. The latter was born in Western Prussia, in November 1790, and, with his coadjutor, had received Lutheran ordination before he proceeded to England. The two friends sailed in February 1814, and arrived in July at Madras, where Dr Rottler was at that time the only missionary of the Christian Knowledge Society ; a clergyman who, after nearly sixty years' service in Hindostan, has been recently removed by death. Having gone to Tranquebar some months to study Tamul, they returned to the scene of their labours, where a school was opened, in which the very poor were to be instructed gratis. They endeavoured also to procure the abolition of caste among their pupils, disapproving entirely of that heathenish distinction. This circumstance,

with the introduction of portions of Scripture as reading lessons, and the ten commandments, prevented a numerous attendance. For the space of about two years Rhenius was much interested in the case of a Guru or high-priest of the Lingagits, a Hindoo sect, who appeared favourably disposed to Christianity, and, from his extensive influence, might have materially contributed to the progress of the gospel. He was, however, eventually discovered to be a hypocrite, whose aim was to procure the missionary's aid in obtaining the influence of the British government towards settling some disputes in which he was engaged. The brethren, who had received the welcome co-operation of Deocar and Bernard Schmid, had their faith and patience often sorely tried by the selfish views of persons who pretended a desire for instruction. On one occasion Rhenius wrote in his journal as follows:—"Thus another year has ended, and that with peculiar and distressing trouble on every side,—without, amongst the heathen,—within, in the congregation. If we had not those exceedingly precious promises—if we had not the love of Christ constraining us—if we had not all the other teaching of the word of God—it would be impossible to stand. But so the Lord sustains us; and we are still animated in his blessed service, knowing that his church has always been built up in troublous times." In the beginning of 1817, a regular congregation was formed, consisting of nineteen individuals.

The assistance of a native named Sandappen, who had belonged to the Vepery station, was found by Rhenius very useful in his preaching tours, and in establishing district schools. In November 1817, a Tamul Bible Association was formed at Madras. The missionary was soon afterwards much interested in the Jainas, a sect which rejects the authority of the Vedas, and degrades the Brahmins to the rank of ordinary mortals. These persons are considered heretics by the great body of the Hindoos. Previously to his visit, they had seen but little of Europeans, and were highly pleased with

the zeal which he testified for their welfare. Little fruit, however, appears to have been the result of his labours among them, which were continued so long as he resided in their neighbourhood. After some difficulty, occasioned by the opposition of the natives, the foundation-stone of a mission-church in Black Town was laid on the 30th of June 1819. But differences of opinion had arisen between Rhenius, Schmid, and the Church Missionary committees at Madras and in London. As it was supposed that these painful circumstances might be removed by a change of position, Rhenius was transferred to the district of Tinnevely, whither he set out, "much afflicted, yet much comforted, knowing that the Lord reigns, and that he will turn all this also for good." He was soon rejoined by Schmid, and the two labourers co-operated as harmoniously as they had done at their former station. They were speedily occupied with the instruction of young and old in "the things that belonged to their peace."

A seminary for the training of native catechists was abandoned on account of the spirit of caste prevalent among the youths who sought instruction in it. We find that about the same period Rhenius had written a brief account of South India missions, which procured him a high reputation in some parts of Europe. He likewise composed a "Harmony of the Gospels," which contained an account of the prophecies relating to Christ, his life, the testimony borne to him by the apostles, the subsequent spread of the evangelical faith, and the future coming of the Lord in judgment. This work has had a very extensive circulation in Southern India. He also commenced a course of lectures on history and geography, and revised a translation of Mrs Sherwood's Indian Pilgrim. The institution which had been broken up was recommenced, and has furnished several persons who have been usefully employed as catechists and schoolmasters. In 1822, sufficient success had attended the mission to warrant the organizing of a native Religious Tract Society, which, as might have

been expected, was "quite a novelty in that part of India." The converts had much at this time to suffer from their heathen neighbours; but all competent redress was afforded by Mr Monro, the collector of the district, a decided Christian, who discontinued the practice of his predecessors in forcing men to draw the idol-car at the great festivals of the Tinnevely pagoda. At the close of 1825, the missionaries produced a statement of the progress of the gospel in their district, from which it appeared that there were upwards of 1000 families under evangelical instruction. From an attentive consideration of the scriptural records of the primitive church, Rhenius was led to think that the congregations under his charge in many respects resembled those formed by the apostles, in regard to their imperfect knowledge, and the prejudices arising from their previous errors, whether of Judaism or Paganism. He had several years before undertaken to revise the Tamul Bible of Fabricius; but the mistakes which he discovered in it induced him to resolve upon a fresh translation, founded upon principles which he developed in an essay published in 1826. The New Testament was given by him to the world; but, at the time of his death, he had not even begun to translate several books of the Old Testament. In 1829, he resigned his charge as chaplain to the Europeans at Palamcotta (which he had some time before undertaken), in consequence of the displeasure testified by the Archdeacon of Madras at his refusal to baptize the illegitimate child of an officer, who expressed no contrition for his grievous crime. The missionary's conscientious firmness on this occasion is deserving of the highest praise. The Tinnevely branch had previously been joined by Mr Wimpler, who occupied a new station, named Dohnavur. At the close of 1829, the number of baptized converts amounted to 984, and of those under instruction to above 6000. Not merely was the gospel making evident progress in the hearts of the natives, but some who continued heathens gave grants of land and

money for the support of schools and other missionary purposes. In "the seminary" forty scholars were instructed, and besides acquiring scriptural knowledge the higher classes were studying Tamil, English, Hebrew, Latin, geography, history, arithmetic, and the elements of logic and rhetoric. An introduction to the Bible on the plan of Bickersteth's Scripture Help and Horne's Introduction, and a volume on the christian evidences, also taken from the latter author, with various other works, had been prepared. Archdeacon Robinson, who visited Palamcotta in February 1830, gave the following opinion of Rhenius:—"His lively and perfectly *native* mode of address, as well as the fluency of his language, attracts the heathen wonderfully. He is bold, impressive, vivid, cheerful in his whole appearance, happy in his illustrations, and a master, not only of their language, but of their feelings and views."

In the autumn of the same year, eight native candidates for holy orders were induced to draw back from ordination on account of certain passages in the prayer-book of the English Church, which they deemed unscriptural. Their opposition much resembled that of the early Puritans. Messrs Rhenius and Schmid incurred some obloquy, as if they had stirred up these men to hostility against the episcopal establishment; and they deprecated this calumny in a letter addressed to the Rev. H. Harper, secretary of the Madras committee.

The teachers greatly lamented the discouragements given to native Christians, inasmuch as heathens were preferred to them by the Company's subordinate officials, and also because certain idolatrous festivals received the sanction of the British government. Heathens also often occasioned grievous injustice to converts by swearing falsely against them in the courts of justice, where the fraud was not detected by the English judges through want of adequate knowledge of the parties who came before them. In 1831, Bishop Turner, in the visitation of his diocese, was struck with the fact that heathens were employed as teachers of mission schools. He wished to

have the system altogether changed; but Rhenius showed, in a letter addressed to a clergyman who made known to him the prelate's desire, that it was impossible at the present time to effect this on account of the deficiency of christian schoolmasters, and the repugnance of the natives to place their children under the care of persons of a different faith. A correspondence soon afterwards occurred between the missionary and the author of the *Natural History of Enthusiasm*, whose "New Model of Christian Missions" had greatly pleased him, and generally coincided with his own views upon the subject.

In 1832, Tinnevely suffered much from a drought and consequent famine, as also from the ravages of the cholera. The distress was relieved as much as possible by the various exertions of Rhenius, to whom, upon the removal of his coadjutor to the Nhilgerries, the whole charge of the mission was for a time intrusted. In the course of the year, however, the station received two additional labourers from Europe, and a native preacher from a northern station. In 1833, Dr Wolff visited the district, and gives in his published journal the following remarks:—"Rhenius, a Prussian. This is indeed a missionary! I lived in the same room with him, and saw how one after another of his congregation came to consult him as a spiritual father. * * The greatest missionary, I believe, who has ever appeared since the time of the apostles; more enterprising, more bold, and more talented than even Swartz himself." The German, on the other hand, speaks of Wolff as "an Israelite in whom there is no guile."

In order to withdraw the converts from the influence of heathenism, pieces of land were purchased, and those who forsook idolatry were settled on them. The people removed the wooden part of their former dwellings, and planted their houses on christian ground; a catechist was appointed; a school established; and a little chapel was erected solely at the expense of "the people or of the society, or, as was perhaps most frequently the case, with assistance from the mission funds, just as the con-

gregation were found possessed of the means of building for themselves a place of worship. In the morning, at an early hour, the villagers were assembled for prayer; they then went forth to their daily labour; and at dusk, or later in the evening, was the voice of praise and prayer heard by many a heathen peasant in Tinnevelly, and the God of the Christians thus publicly acknowledged."

For some years there had been various points of difference between Rhenius and the Church Missionary Society; and the discordance was matured into a complete rupture in consequence of a review published by the former of a sermon by Archdeacon Harper of Madras. This discourse extolled the English church at the expense of other communions, and on account of its high ecclesiastical views was somewhat severely handled by the critic, whose conduct seems to have been imprudent, though it is very questionable whether it merited his dismissal. After retiring from Tinnevelly for a short time, he, with his colleagues, Schaffter, Müller, and Lechler, who shared his sentiments, returned to it, and there laboured till his death. Various friends in Europe and Asia defrayed the necessary expenses of the mission. The people generally remained attached to them, though other teachers were sent by the society. The Germans laboured with zeal, acceptance, and success; their income amounting in 1837 to 31,259 rupees, and their expenditure to 25,972. The bulk of the contributions was derived from India, which shows the extent of the sympathy and favour their proceedings had excited.

The unremitted exertions of Rhenius at last wore him out; and he died on the 5th of June 1838, in the forty-eighth year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his residence in India. His thorough consistency of character and unwearied efforts in the cause of Christ endeared him to a large circle of pious friends, and rendered his removal a very severe loss to the mission. His talents were great, and his acquaintance with Tamul has never been surpassed by any European. His influence over the native mind was second only to that of Swartz; and

many would not allow that he was inferior. It is honourable to the committee of the Church Missionary Society, that they made to his widow and family the same allowance as would have fallen to them had the deceased never left the employment of that distinguished institution.*

The London Missionary Society, in 1806, established some labourers in the Tinnevely country. The first was the Rev. Mr Ringeltaube, a German, who, at the outset, found it necessary to combat the worldly motives which led many to seek instruction from him. After a short time, his exertions were extended into the kingdom of Travancore, which now became the chief seat of the mission. Here also many sought to become Christians, in the vain expectation that they would be relieved from the public burdens. But, before he baptized any, he made them promise that they would, in all respects, be obedient subjects to the rajah and his officers. In 1817, the Rev. Charles Mead arrived at Travancore, and found no fewer than ten congregations, with all of which there were schools connected. In a short time, the assemblies were increased to twenty-two. He did not deem the renunciation of caste indispensable, thinking that the opposite opinion had prevented many from reading the scriptures and listening to the evidences of the gospel. Since that time, the progress has continued to be very satisfactory. In 1839, there were four stations, Nagercoil, with four missionaries, one a medical gentleman, and fifty-three native readers; Neyoor, with three missionaries and eighty-five native readers; Quilon, with two missionaries and fourteen readers; and Tevandrum, with one missionary and four readers. In 1838, there were connected with the Nagercoil station seventy-five schools, with about 3160 children, male and female. At Neyoor, considerable efforts had been made to elevate the standard of acquirements among the native readers, for whose use two valuable collections of books had been

* Life of Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius by his Son.

presented by friends in England. Four pupils were able to read the Greek Testament with facility.*

At Madras, the General Assembly of the Scottish church have for some years maintained a mission. There are at present three labourers in this field, the Rev. John Anderson, Robert Johnston, and John Braidwood, the last of whom is supported by the yearly contributions of the Edinburgh University Missionary Association. Great interest has been given to this establishment by the recent conversion and baptism of three youths, Venkataramiah, Rajahgopaul, and Ethiajooloo, who were educated in the institution, which is formed upon the model of that at Calcutta. These occurrences have greatly roused the enmity of the Hindoos, and many have withdrawn their children from the schools. The brethren at Madras have had recently to deplore the apostasy of another Hindoo, P. Romanoojooloo. Mr Anderson remarks, "chiefly through inward weakness, and partly by secret native influence brought to bear on his fears, passions, interest, and hopes,—he has become, in an evil hour, the head native teacher in the new Hindoo Union School, open on purpose to destroy us, on a salary, I am told, of fifty rupees a-month; and in a most unnatural way he is acting the part of Judas, and is trying with all his might to corrupt our teachers at our branch schools, and, by the suggestions of some of the heads of the native community, is holding out inducements to them to follow in his footsteps, by deserting me and my cause." One of the new converts has addressed an admirable letter to the unhappy apostate, who was his teacher. It thus concludes:—"All of us, both your dearest teachers Messrs Anderson, Johnston,

* Brown's History of Missions, vol. ii. p. 474-477. Reports of the London Missionary Society for 1838 and 1839. Messrs Tyerman and Bennet, who visited India some years ago, thus speak of Nagercoil:—"We are most highly gratified with the general aspect of this mission. There is nothing, as far as we have seen, equal to it in all India; and we were strongly reminded of what we had so often witnessed in the South Seas."—*Journal*, vol. ii. p. 460.

and Braidwood, and your friends P. Rajahgopaul, A. Venkataramiah, and I, your dearest, are praying to God to bring you out of Satan's bonds. May the Lord shine upon you, and bring you from the fear of men and affections of relations! O Lord, do thou make P. Romanoojooloo a preacher of thy gospel! Bring him from his sins. Strengthen both his body and soul; create a spirit of boldness. Let him come forward; show him what is his reward if he confess thy name openly, and his punishment if he deny thee! Lord, do thou take up thy abode in his heart. Save him from his secret sins, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. I wish you to read these verses, and tell me what you think of them:—Jeremiah, xvii. 5; iii. 20. Isaiah, v. 18. Jeremiah, ii. 19; ii. 12; iv. 14; x. 10; xiii. 15, 16; vii. 23; l. 8; xvii. 7. I am, &c."—May the Spirit of God restore this backslider, and prosper abundantly the blessed work he has begun.*

* Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, 1841.

CHAPTER VI.

Missions to Northern India.

Missions to Northern India—Baptist Connexion—Dr Carey—His early Labours and Trials—Translations of the Scriptures—Marshman and Ward—Fire at Serampore—Revision of the Company's Charter—Native Schools—Native College—Death of Ward—Lawson—Government Offices opened to native Christians—Deaths of Carey and Marshman—Labours of Chamberlain—Church of England—Henry Martyn—Abdool Messeeh—Awakening at Kishnagur—London Missionary Society—Various Stations—Church of Scotland—Dr Duff—General Assembly's Institution—Conversions—Education of Natives.

THE English Baptists have, in the writings of such men as Fuller, Hall, and Foster, conferred a most valuable benefit on the religious world; but they have, within the last half century, won for themselves a still nobler distinction in their efforts for the propagation of Christianity among the heathen. The first who endeavoured to awaken his brethren to a sense of their duty to extend the Redeemer's kingdom among those yet unacquainted even with his name, appears to have been the Rev. William Carey, who did not rest till he had procured the establishment of a society having this end in view. In 1792, he preached a sermon from Isaiah liv. 2, 3, and published an essay which had considerable effect upon the members of his communion. Several influential ministers of that body, including Fuller, Sutcliff, Pearce, and Dr Ryland, were original framers of the society, which, in the spring of the year

1793, sent forth its first labourers Carey and John Thomas. The latter, who was a medical gentleman, already possessed some experience in missionary life in Bengal, the place of their destination. They had taken their passage on board an East Indiaman, when a fear of the Company's jealousy with regard to strangers proceeding to their Oriental possessions induced the captain to send them on shore. But not long afterwards, they secured berths in a Danish vessel, and arrived in Bengal the following November.

Mr Thomas, from his previous acquaintance with the country, people, and language, might have been expected to prove the more efficient missionary of the two ; but this was not the case. It is believed that he was a pious man ; but he behaved with a degree of eccentricity which must have impressed upon his companion's mind a dread that he had a disposition to insanity ; and, accordingly, some years afterwards, he died deranged. His mismanagement involved Mr Carey, who had a large family, in serious difficulties ; and this admirable man had to mourn over the ill health of his wife, who eventually sunk into the same melancholy condition with his colleague. But he sought refuge from calamity in humble dependence upon God, and active prosecution of the study of Bengalee, into which he was desirous to translate the Scriptures. In May 1794, his pecuniary difficulties were removed by an offer made to him by Mr George Udney of the superintendence of two indigo manufactories which he had just established. The salary was 200 rupees a-month ; and of this he contrived to dedicate a considerable part (varying from a fourth to a third) to missionary purposes, relinquishing at the same time his salary from the society. His nephew remarks, "from the first day he could command a single fraction not absolutely required for his subsistence, he began to practise that rigid and unreserved consecration of his substance for which he continued so bright an example through life, and which, though for thirty years he was in receipt of a large

income, gave him the privilege and the dignity of dying poor."

The number of people under his superintendence opened to Mr Carey a considerable field of usefulness ; but the very favourable idea which he at first conceived of the Hindoos was already greatly altered, in consequence of the disappointments he had met with in several cases. He and his colleague, besides addressing the natives in the immediate vicinity, made several excursions to a greater or shorter distance. They found considerable difficulty in the ignorant and unreflecting minds of the rural population around them, to whom, as they were engrossed with sensible things, it was not easy to communicate any spiritual notions. The idolatrous perversions of language also formed an obstacle in their way. Yet they persevered ; and, in May 1795, Carey had sometimes a congregation of 600 persons, Mussulmans and Hindoos. Some months afterwards, he was much grieved at being obliged to dismiss a moonshee or learned native, who had been of great service in the translation of the Scriptures, and had even seemed under the influence of divine grace. Already, however, almost all the Pentateuch, as well as the New Testament, had been completed ; and at this period Mr John Fountain arrived to gladden the hearts of the former labourers by his aid. The missionaries daily maintained the worship of God, expounding the Bible in Bengalee ; and service was performed twice on the Sabbath. Carey had composed hymns in the native language, which he characterized as written "in the style of Sternhold and Hopkins." The Europeans in the neighbourhood were likewise benefited by his labours ; and he was the means of effecting among them several important conversions.

Mr Udney's manufactories, which had proved a failure, were relinquished ; but Mr Carey took the management of another at Kidderpore, twelve miles from his former situation. He, however, gave up this, though with some loss, and removed to Serampore, a Danish settlement on

the Hoogley, about fifteen miles above Calcutta. This place had been chosen as their residence by four new missionaries, William Ward, Joshua Marshman, Daniel Brunsdon, and William Grant, whom the jealousy of the authorities prevented from settling in the British dominions. In less than a year, Grant and Fountain fell victims to the climate. The latter had translated a portion of the Scriptures, as had also Mr Thomas; but Carey did by far the greatest part of the work. The first part printed was the Gospel according to Matthew. A Bengalee free-school was opened, which soon contained nearly fifty children; and about the end of the year, they were gladdened by the first evidence of conversion among the Hindoos with which they had become acquainted. Four persons, Gokul and Krishnu, with the wife of the latter and his sister, professed their faith in Christ. The two men came to eat with the brethren, and thus lost caste,—a circumstance which excited a great sensation in the neighbourhood. On the 28th of December, Mr Carey, to use his own words, “had the happiness to desecrate the Ganges by baptizing the first Hindoo, Krishnu,” along with his own son, Felix, whose recent proofs of piety had become a source of great joy to his father’s heart. The other converts were admitted into the visible church shortly after. In February 1801, the New Testament was published; the printing had been executed by Mr Ward, whose previous employment fitted him for the work.

Shortly after these important events, Mr Carey received from the Marquis Wellesley the appointment of Sanscrit and Bengalee teacher in the recently instituted college of Fort William. He was afterwards made a professor, and his salary raised to a thousand rupees per month, or about £1500 a-year, the surplus of which he appropriated to missionary purposes. He owed this preferment to the friendship of the Rev. Messrs David Brown and Claudius Buchanan, provost and vice-provost of the seminary, who recommended him to the governor-general.

Meanwhile, as the number of converts was increasing, the enmity of the bigoted heathens was more excited against them. They heaped upon the native Christians all kinds of insults and injuries, which the latter bore with laudable meekness, showing no disposition to return evil for evil. The missionaries had occasionally difficult questions to settle with regard to those brought under the power of the truth. Some of them were polygamists; and, at length, the brethren determined that, when a man happened to have more than one wife, he should not be obliged to put any of them away, though, according to St Paul, he was held disqualified for the office of the ministry. In certain cases, the wives of converts refused to have any further intercourse with them, and, in other instances, were forcibly prevented by their relatives. In such circumstances, and after all efforts to win over the woman had proved fruitless, the brethren decided that a husband was practically in a state of widowhood, and might take to himself a second spouse.

In 1805, about thirty natives were baptized. In the same year died a remarkable convert, named Peetumber Singh, a man of such talents and acquirements that the most distinguished pundits dreaded an encounter with him after he became a Christian. He had been appointed teacher of the Bengalee charity school, and wrote a piece in verse, entitled "The Sure Refuge," which has been very useful among his countrymen. His death took place when about sixty years old; an event which Mr Carey thus notices:—"Yesterday, our venerable brother died triumphing in the Lord. Our brethren were singing a hymn by him when he died. His reason was in full exercise to the last; and he appeared to feel the sentiments of the hymn in his dying moments. He has been a very honourable member of the church. His conversation on his deathbed was very encouraging and edifying. He frequently observed, that he had obtained the peace which Paul wished in the introduction to all his epistles."

In the following year, the same missionary writes,—

"we are now engaged in a large undertaking, namely, the translation of the Scriptures into all the languages of the East. A subscription to a great amount has been made for this purpose, and is still filling up. I suppose that it amounts at this time to three thousand pounds sterling." Proposals had been issued for publishing the Bible in fifteen Oriental tongues. For this herculean task, the missionaries were prepared by a critical knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek originals, and by the possession of an excellent library of theological works, joined to the best ancient and modern versions of the word of God. The assistance of learned natives was also within their reach; and the execution of the work was facilitated by the close relation subsisting between the different Eastern languages, most of which are derived from the Sanscrit. The versions were, in the first instance, made by natives, who were selected on account of the advantage to be obtained from the labour of individuals who wrote in their vernacular tongue; but no translation was put to press until it had been subjected to a thorough revision by their employers.*

In the course of the same year, on the arrival of the missionaries Chater and Robinson, some difficulty arose about permitting them to proceed to Serampore. Mr Carey, on going to Calcutta to ascertain the cause of the delay, was informed that the governor-general wished that no further efforts should be made for the conversion of the natives. This decree was afterwards modified, so as to allow them to distribute the scriptures and preach to the heathen, provided they did so privately. The jealousy of government was occasioned by the recent mutiny at Vellore, which had spread a wide alarm among the British,—an impression, however, which manifested itself in no very reasonable manner. A tract, which had been printed in Bengalee, and, in that state, contained nothing offensive, was translated by a native into Persian, and published without being inspected by the missionaries.

* Life of Dr Carey, by E. Carey. Brown, vol. ii. p. 129-178.

Several harsh epithets were now applied in it to Mohammed and his religion, which were calculated to irritate the Mussulmans; and the affair, coming to the knowledge of the authorities, was taken up very seriously. Severe proceedings were feared by the brethren, who, however, by addressing a memorial to Lord Minto, succeeded in averting the storm. It was merely required from them that they should submit a copy of all subsequent tracts to the inspection of authorized persons.

In January 1808, the Bible had been translated and printed in the following languages:—Sanskrit, Bengalee, Mahratta, Oriassa, Hindostanee, Guzeratee, Chinese, Seek, Telinga, Kurnata, Burman, and Persian. During next year, the missionaries opened a spacious chapel in Calcutta, which now became one of the most important spheres of their labour and success. The expense of the building, about £4000, was chiefly defrayed by private subscription. Several of the brethren took up their residence in the city; and various converts likewise exerted themselves to diffuse the gospel among their countrymen.

On the 12th of March 1812, a fire broke out in the mission premises at Serampore, which destroyed a great deal of valuable property. Among the articles burnt were founts of type in seventeen languages; about 15,000 reams of paper; upwards of 55,000 sheets printed off; 5000 rupees' worth of books; manuscripts to the value of 7000 rupees, among which were a Sanscrit dictionary, in five folio volumes, and all the materials for a polyglot lexicon of the languages derived from the Sanscrit, with various other articles. The whole loss was estimated at £7500, though the conflagration did not extend beyond the printing office. The presses and paper-mill, with the matrices, moulds, and apparatus for typefounding, were happily preserved. On the second day after the disaster, the missionaries set their servants to work to repair the damage which had been done; and in the course of a few months no fewer than eight of the versions were again in the press. The most liberal contributions were made

by the friends of religion to restore the efficiency of the establishment. In Bengal, about £1000 was collected; while from America, £1500, and from Great Britain upwards of £10,000 were transmitted. The British and Foreign Bible Society voted a large quantity of paper in order to replace that which had been destroyed.

In March 1813, the British authorities in Bengal ordered Messrs Robinson, Lawson, and Johns,—the two latter of whom had newly arrived at Serampore,—to return to England by the fleet then about to sail, because they had gone to India without the permission of the Court of Directors, as all the missionaries indeed had hitherto done. Mr Lawson was allowed to remain in consequence of a representation to Lord Minto that he was preparing a fount of Chinese types, the completion of which would be materially impeded if he were removed; but no attention was paid to the applications in favour of Mr Johns, who was compelled to return to his native land. Mr Robinson had proceeded to Java with the view of establishing a mission there, and was eventually allowed to continue in that island. These proceedings excited much regret and displeasure among the religious public in Great Britain; and no fewer than 908 petitions were presented to Parliament, praying for the insertion in the Company's charter, then under consideration, of a clause securing to christian missionaries the protection of government, together with full permission to proceed to the East Indies. The prayer of the petitioners was granted.

In 1814, Dr Carey wrote to Mr Fuller, informing him that the number of languages into which the scriptures either had been translated, or were in the process of translation, amounted to twenty-six. In the same year, he had the pleasure of welcoming to India his nephew the Rev. Eustace Carey, since favourably known to the world by an ably written memoir of his relative.*

* A charge was given to Mr Carey, at his designation to the missionary office, by Robert Hall, which ranks among his

In November 1816, the brethren at Serampore began an institution for the support and encouragement of native schools. At this time all the women, whatever might be their rank or character, were, with few exceptions, excluded from instruction by immemorial custom, "a barrier stronger than law;" and even among the male sex, there was hardly one in a hundred able to read a common letter. Pitying the degraded state of the Hindoo mind, the missionaries established a normal school, in which teachers were trained to supply seminaries throughout the country. In these the children were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, the more popular parts of geography, astronomy, and natural philosophy, the leading facts of history, and the most important principles of morals; so that the system of education was greatly superior to any thing hitherto attempted in native schools. It was highly gratifying to witness the cordiality with which the pupils, belonging to different castes, mingled together. No wish was even expressed by them to be formed into separate classes.

After some time the missionaries extended their plans of instruction, by offering to the teachers of the Hindoo schools a stated sum monthly, for as many of their scholars as should attain a certain degree of proficiency, if they would adopt their educational system, and use the books provided by them. Soon after this proposal was made, about a hundred schools, with nearly 8000 children, were placed under the care of the brethren. In this class of seminaries the pupils belonged to a higher rank in society than those attending the charity schools wholly maintained by Europeans.

In August 1818, the Serampore brethren instituted

best efforts. The cause of Indian missions has called forth the genius of Hall, of Duff, and, above all, of Foster, whose magnificent address on the propagation of Christianity in Hindostan has never been surpassed for power of thought and splendour of eloquence.

a college for communicating to native youth a species of education superior to that afforded by the ordinary schools. In this establishment it was designed that Sanscrit, Arabic, Chinese, and English should be taught, with such other languages, particularly those of India, as might be reckoned useful. Instruction was to be given in the various Hindoo shastras, the system of native law, and the elementary principles of European science, including medicine. The doctrines of the gospel were likewise to be inculcated. Hindoos, Mussulmans, and Christians, had equal access to this college; and a fundamental regulation was, that no student should be obliged to attend any lecture to which he had a religious objection. The missionaries hoped, by means of this institution, to diffuse general information among the community, and to train up converted natives as well-instructed ministers to their countrymen. The native preachers they had hitherto employed possessed but very imperfect literary qualifications for their work.

Previously to the establishment of this college, there had commenced a misunderstanding between the Serampore brethren and the Baptist society, in consequence of the recommendation by the latter of a mode of managing the mission property which was not agreeable to the former. The breach widened by degrees, and in 1827, the connexion between the parties was dissolved, though without any loss of esteem on either side.

In March 1823, Mr Ward died in the fifty-fourth year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his labours in Hindostan. He was the author of a valuable work on the religion, manners, and customs of the Hindoos, in four volumes, which issued from the Serampore press. Being originally a printer, in the course of his voyage out to India, he wrote in his diary, "Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should *print* among the heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ." The twentieth version of the New Testament, executed under his eye, was completed as far as the book of Revelations at

the time of his decease. About two years subsequently, the Baptist mission sustained another blow in the removal of the Rev. John Lawson, who by his labours during sixteen years in Calcutta had been the instrument of much good. He had rendered essential service to the cause of Indian evangelization, by constructing small moveable metal types that rendered it possible to compress the Bengalee version of the Bible into one volume, which, as it had previously extended to five, was both inconvenient and expensive. The new edition of the scriptures, too, was executed with equal skill and beauty. Dr Marshman stated, that the brethren were now able to circulate 10,000 copies of the translation at the same expense as they formerly could issue 4000. Mr Lawson, among several other accomplishments, is said to have been a respectable poet.*

In 1831, Lord W. Bentinck, governor-general, issued an order, opening to the native Christians all the offices of government, hitherto held exclusively by Hindoos and Mohammedans. In reference to this, the Serampore missionaries wrote :—"The odious distinction is abolished ; and such is the progress which we have made in liberality, that the Chundrika newspaper, the High Hindoo organ, applauds the governor-general for thus making no distinction in the distribution of the offices of government. We have now a noble career open to us in the college. Formerly our native christian students had either no object, or a very uncertain one, before them ; now the paths of distinction, by every exertion of intellect and probity, are open to them." On the

* "Amidst the votaries of a glorious cause,
 Lawson, thy name shall hold its blameless right,
 And owned, or slighted by the world's applause,
 Be traced in characters of cloudless light:
 For, like the firmament serenely bright,
 Shine forth the wise ; and them who numbers turn
 To righteousness—like stars which gem the night,
 All eyes with gratitude shall long discern,
 Nor shall their memories need pride's monumental urn."

BERNARD BARTON.

9th of June 1834, Dr Carey died in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and the forty-first of his missionary labours. The committee of the Baptist Missionary Society thus spoke of him :—"Endowed with extraordinary talents for the acquisition of foreign languages, he delighted to consecrate them to the noble purpose of unfolding to the nations of the East the holy scriptures in their own tongue : a department of sacred labour in which it pleased God to honour him far beyond any predecessor or contemporary in the missionary field. Nor was Dr Carey less eminent for the holiness of his personal character. Throughout life he adorned the gospel of God his Saviour, by the spirituality of his mind and the uprightness of his conduct ; and especially by the deep and unaffected humility which proved how largely he had imbibed the spirit of his blessed Master."* Dr Marshman has since followed Ward and Carey to the grave, forming with them what Dr Duff has termed "the noble, the immortal triumvirate of Serampore."

Several other stations were occupied by the Baptist missionaries, at one of which, named Cutwa, the Rev. John Chamberlain laboured faithfully many years. Being a man of the greatest self-denial, his expenses were so very trifling that his friends used to remark, "we wonder how he manages to exist ; he must feed on air." His constant maxim was, "work and live." In the midst of storms and dangers, he would say, "I feel comfort in knowing that Omnipotence can hold me with a cobweb, though all human power could not with a cable." Mr E. Carey has remarked of him, "he displayed a seraphic fervour combined with a peasant-like plainness, unabated through all the painful details of missionary labour for twenty years in succession."

Missionary operations have been extensively carried on in connexion with the Church of England. In 1805, the Rev. Henry Martyn sailed for India as a chaplain

* Memoir of Carey. Missionary Records. India, chap. vi.

to the Company, who, though he had gained the highest academical honours at Cambridge, relinquished all prospects of preferment at home, and consecrated himself to evangelistic labour. He was appointed to the station of Dinapore; and, while faithfully discharging his duty to the European residents, among whom he made several converts, he took every opportunity of doing good to the perishing heathen around him. Besides translating the Book of Common Prayer into Hindostanee, he composed in that tongue a commentary on the parables. He preached to the natives, and also established schools for their children. He next accomplished a version of the New Testament in the vernacular tongue, and superintended the translation of the gospels into Persian by a Mohammedan, Sabat, who then professed Christianity, but afterwards apostatized. Mr Martyn, however, was removed to Cawnpore. Here he was the means of bringing under serious impressions a Mohammedan named Sheikh Solih, who was baptized by the Rev. D. Brown at Calcutta, taking the appellation Abdool Messeeh, "Servant of Christ." Bad health obliging him to leave this station, he resolved to visit Persia and Arabia, in order to obtain the opinion of learned natives with regard to the translations of the scriptures into the languages of their countries. He left Calcutta in January 1811, and went by Ceylon and Bombay to Shiraz, where he immediately commenced another version of the New Testament into Persian. He had various interesting conversations with Jews and Mohammedans on the subject of religion, and wrote a work in opposition to a defence of Islamism, which had proceeded from the pen of Mirza Ibrahim, a learned man of Shiraz. On leaving that city, he remarks, "no year of my life was ever spent more usefully, though such a long separation from my friends was a severe trial." He intended to lay before the King of Persia his new version; but circumstances occurring to prevent this, it was afterwards presented by Sir Gore

Ouseley, the British ambassador. His majesty expressed high approbation of the work ; and it was sent to St Petersburg to be printed. Mr Martyn then pursued his journey to Europe, but, after suffering much on the way, died at Tocat, on the 16th of October 1812, in the thirty-second year of his age. He was a man of remarkable talents : and Archdeacon Hoare, a most intimate friend, observes, " he was one of those few persons whose reasoning faculty does not suffer from their imagination, nor their imagination from their reasoning faculty ; both in him were fully exercised, and of a very high order. His mathematical acquisitions clearly left him without a rival of his own age ; and yet, to have known only the employments of his more free and unfettered moments, would have led to the conclusion that the classics and poetry were his predominant passion." These, however, were small things when compared with the fervent piety which hallowed his character and animated his exertions. The late Bishop Corrie said, " a more perfect character I never met with, nor expect to see again on earth." Although his zealous labours appear to have had little immediate fruit, yet his translations of the New Testament into Hindostanee and Persian are doubtless calculated to be a blessing to many ; and the influence of his example has even already been most beneficial upon succeeding labourers. We may adopt the words of the excellent clergyman who was his biographer, and now is his fellow-worshipper before the throne : " Whilst some shall delight to gaze upon the splendid sepulchre of Xavier, and others choose rather to ponder over the granite stone which covers all that is mortal of Swartz, there will not be wanting those who will think of the humble and unfrequented grave of Henry Martyn, and be led to imitate those works of mercy which have followed him into the world of light and love."*

* Sargent's Memoir of Henry Martyn.

Abdool Messeeh, Mr Martyn's convert, was a highly interesting character. He was speedily employed as a catechist, and laboured with success at Agra, where the native congregation was committed to his care by Mr Corrie when he was obliged to go to England in bad health. He was ordained by Bishop Heber in 1825, who spoke of him as "every way fit for holy orders," adding, "he is a most sincere Christian, quite free, so far as I could observe, from all conceit and enthusiasm." He was then stationed at Lucknow, where he died in the beginning of 1827.

Though our limits will not allow us to give many details respecting the operations of the Church Missionary Society, we cannot omit mentioning the mission at Kishnagur, which was established in 1832. The usual means of preaching and instructing the young were employed; but it was not till 1836 that any remarkable good was experienced. In that year an awakening began, which has continued ever since. An inundation of the river Jellinghee in 1838, by which much property was destroyed, was blessed by God for rousing the attention of many to spiritual things. Upwards of a hundred villages have been pervaded by the Spirit's blessed influence; and the number of converts exceeds 4000. Additional missionaries have been stationed, and new chapels built. Bishop Wilson and Dr Duff, who both visited Kishnagur, expressed themselves highly gratified with the state of affairs in that district.

The London Missionary Society has long had various stations in Northern India; and the efforts of its sedulous labourers have been blessed by the Lord. One of their converts, Narapot Singh, who has become a native preacher, by his embracing the gospel sacrificed £20,000,—a noble instance of giving up all for Christ. It was observed in the Report for 1840,—“In Bengal and the provinces yet further to the north, it is still the seedtime; and the husbandmen, having sown the precious grain, are waiting with long patience, yet praying with holy importunity for the early and the latter rain.

In some delightful instances, they have indeed been cheered with early fruits ; but the harvest of their hopes is yet to come.”—“ Their missionaries deem it an encouraging circumstance, that the objections now offered by the natives are scarcely ever in defence of Hindooism, as used to be the case heretofore ; they are rather attacks on Christianity itself, taken from Paine and other English infidels. This plainly shows that the natives of Calcutta have by this time learned at least that the system of idolatry, so long cherished and adhered to by them, is altogether untenable when brought into contact with sound reasoning and with the holy and divine religion of the Bible.” One of the most important branches of the mission is the Christian Institution at Bhowampore, which, according to the last Report, has 323 pupils, divided into ten classes. They study English, Bengalee, the scriptures, geography, history, arithmetic, mathematics, and the elements of mechanics. There is a theological class for those whose destination is the ministry. “ The plan of instruction ” in this latter section, “ which is carried on exclusively through the medium of Bengalee, has, during the year, included a systematic course of reading in the sacred scriptures. The evidences of Christianity and composition have likewise received attention. Three of the young men are already able to address the people on the subject of religion, and this they do with much propriety and efficiency.” The committee of the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society have requested the missionaries at Benares to execute a complete translation of the Old Testament into Hindostanee. There are only eleven church members at that celebrated seat of idolatry ; but the schools are attended by about 500 pupils. At Mizapore, a lithographic press has been established in connexion with the mission, who intend to print a Persian and Nagari edition of a religious newspaper, the *Khair Khwáh i Hind*, and such other useful works as may be required by the schoolbook societies in India. The circulation of the periodical now mentioned is nearly 400 copies monthly ;

it is taken by many of the natives, both Hindoos and Mussulmans.*

The Church of Scotland, as a corporate body, was long inattentive to the duty of sending the gospel to the heathen. Individual members, indeed, zealously embraced every opportunity of aiding the missionary cause; and among them may be especially mentioned the Rev. Dr John Erskine, of whom it were difficult to say whether he was most distinguished by the depth of his theological learning, or the fervour of his zeal for the advancement of Christ's kingdom. In the progress of time, however, a more enlightened spirit began to pervade the Establishment, and various overtures were forwarded to the General Assembly by different presbyteries and synods in favour of missionary undertakings. In December 1823, a memorial was transmitted from the Rev. Dr Bryce, then senior Scottish chaplain at Calcutta, directing attention to India as a promising field of evangelistic labour. Accordingly, in May 1824, a proposal that the church should, in its corporate capacity, organize a mission to the heathen, was made in the General Assembly by Dr Inglis, a man of whom it has been remarked by a determined opponent of his general ecclesiastical policy, that he "was distinguished by remarkable clearness and soundness of judgment, candour, sincerity, and frankness of mind, and a calm personal piety, deepening as he drew near the close of his life, and rendering his last years both the loveliest and the best."†

This lamented clergyman had directed his attention some years previously to the subject of missions; and, in a sermon preached in 1818 before the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, he laid down the very principles of conducting the evangelizing process which have been since carried into effect at the Calcutta station. In pursuance of his recommendation, a committee was appointed by the Assembly to

* Reports of the London Missionary Society, 1840, 1841.

† Hetherington's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 712.

report to the next annual meeting of that venerable court. In this report it was recommended that the preaching of the gospel should be conjoined with the establishment of seminaries, in which the indigenous youth should receive such useful knowledge as might qualify them for estimating the claims of Christianity, and that converted natives might be trained as missionaries to their countrymen. The central seminary was to be placed under the care of a superintendent, who should be a minister of the church. The combination of teaching and preaching on this plan, as a good judge has well remarked, was, "in its essential principle and practical working, only a counterpart of the scheme whereby our Scottish Reformers at once perfected and perpetuated the Reformation in this highly favoured land." But great praise was due to Dr Inglis for his sagacity in applying to missions among the heathen the scheme which had proved so beneficial to the people of his native country.

In 1826, he issued, in the name of the Church, a pastoral address to the people of Scotland, in which, with his characteristic clearness of thought and vigour of expression, he repelled objections to the scheme of propagating the gospel in India. Two years afterwards, the committee made choice of the Rev. Alexander Duff, as the first missionary of the National Church; and the appointment was formally ratified by the General Assembly in 1829. Having been ordained by the presbytery of Edinburgh, he set sail from Portsmouth, on the 14th of October, in the *Lady Holland East Indiaman*; and immediately on reaching the place of his destination, he began to make inquiries with reference to the best means of carrying into effect the wishes of his employers. He embraced every opportunity of becoming acquainted with the various ranks of natives, and with the methods of operation prosecuted by the different bodies of missionaries resident at Calcutta. A considerable amount of valuable information was thus collected. He was obliged, however, though with great regret, to

drop for the time all attempts to found an institution in which a more improved education should be given ; and this “ for the strongest, though not the most gratifying of all reasons,—either that none who were willing were found qualified, or that none who were qualified were found willing to enter it.” The former difficulty arose from the very imperfect kind of instruction hitherto communicated in mission schools ; the latter from the irreligious system previously pursued in the government seminaries of a higher order.

Mr Duff now resolved to establish an elementary school ; and his first idea was to teach in it Bengalee as the vernacular dialect ; but, as only those poor children whose parents could not afford to place them elsewhere would have attended, this intention was abandoned. The choice now lay between Sanscrit and English as the medium of communicating knowledge ; and he had to decide which of the two would prove the more effective instrument of a liberal education. The authority of government, of experienced Orientalists, and of several veteran missionaries, was in favour of the former. Yet he saw reason to prefer the latter, as it alone had a literature and science worthy of being mastered by the youth of India, and as it was better that every stage of the pupil's progress should be effected in the same tongue. It must also be remembered that this school was designed as preliminary to a much higher institution. This resolution having been formed, on Tuesday 13th July 1830, the hall of an old building in the central part of the native town was opened ; and proper precautions having been taken to secure the attendance of those who enrolled as pupils, the work of tuition began with 250 young persons. Mr Duff's management soon brought his scholars into a right method of acting, to which they were at first strangers. “ Forwardness of manner became respectful : irregularity of habit acknowledged some rule : sluggishness of movement was quickened : the unfixed tendency of thought seemed more stayed : fickleness and levity of conduct settled

down into greater sobriety : aimlessness of effort began to be directed to a purpose : and passive indolence of mind was roused into activity." After the lapse of a week, the teacher informed his pupils, that it was right to invoke the blessing of Almighty God upon their studies, and put into their hands copies of the New Testament, which were granted for their use by the Calcutta Bible Society. From this volume he read to them the Lord's prayer, and explained it, paragraph by paragraph ; and henceforward it was used every morning preparatory to the exercises of the day. The first hour was occupied in the reading of the scriptures, which he informed them they might compare with their own standards of belief and practice, and thus be enabled to decide which was preferable. Such an address disarmed opposition ; and only three or four cases occurred in which the perusal of the Bible was made an excuse for withdrawing any pupil from the school.

After the Lord's prayer, the missionary read with his scholars the parable of the prodigal son, the thirteenth chapter of first Corinthians, the sermon on the mount, and other passages of the word of God adapted to evince the surpassing excellence of Christianity as a religious system. When the apostolic delineation of charity had been perused, a young Brahmin started from his seat, exclaiming, " Oh, sir ! that is too good for us. Who can act up to that ! who can act up to that ? "—" Taking into view all the circumstances of the case, a finer exemplification could not well be imagined of the self-evidencing light of God's holy word. It was a sudden burst of spontaneous homage to the beauty and power and holiness of the truth, in its own naked and unadorned simplicity, at a moment when the mind was wholly untrammelled and unbiassed by prejudice or party interest or sect." The opportunity was embraced by the teacher to inform the young persons before him, that the spirit, so difficult of attainment, might yet be realized by all who would pursue it in the method pointed out in the sacred volume.

The reading of the scriptures was contemporaneous with the communication of literary and scientific instruction accommodated to the respective capacities of the different classes. For six months the scheme went on with great success; the teacher was pleased with the progress of his scholars, and they were gratified with the knowledge communicated by their master. But one morning, on entering the schoolroom, he was astonished to find it nearly deserted; and, on inquiring the cause, found it to be a furious article in the *Chundrika* Bengalee newspaper of that morning, which anathematized the institution, and threatened with the loss of caste all who allowed their children to attend. With great presence of mind, he suppressed all emotion at this intelligence, and proceeded to the usual tasks of the day with the half-dozen pupils who had made their appearance. This firmness had the best effect; no punishment was inflicted on the parents of the scholars who remained, and, in the course of little more than a week, all the children, with three or four exceptions, returned. The *Chundrika* repeated its denunciations several times; but they gradually lost their power; and the most bigoted did not dare to have recourse to excommunication, for fear of a schism which would probably have ensued.

After the termination of the first twelvemonth, Mr Duff thought it expedient to hold a public examination of his pupils. Dr Bryce, who still continued to hold office at Calcutta, presided; and the proceedings of the day were witnessed by a numerous assemblage of Europeans and natives of rank. The boys of the different classes were minutely questioned upon English grammar, geography, astronomy, ancient history, and several parts of the Old and New Testaments. The appearance made by the pupils was such as to call forth the warmest admiration from the spectators; and the leading journals of the Presidency, though differing widely in religion and politics, united in according their approbation of the method pursued. The events of that

day procured for the seminary a degree of estimation which it has never lost.

Shortly after his arrival in India, Mr Duff, in conjunction with three other ministers, of whom one was an Episcopalian and two were Independents, undertook to deliver lectures on the evidences of religion and the doctrines of revelation, designed for the benefit of the educated natives, many of whom were at least sceptically disposed. Only the introductory lecture, however, was given, as the bigotry of others induced them to apply to the managers of the government college, who issued a peremptory mandate, enjoining all the young men attending the institution to abstain from being present at the contemplated assaults upon their faith. It was then found advisable to delay the projected series of discourses. But the discussion of the question in society had a marked influence on the public mind ; and this agitation led to the establishment among the educated natives of several debating clubs and political journals. Some of the latter were very ably conducted, and they canvassed religious subjects with an unsparing freedom. The Hindoos were more than ever separated into two parties ; the advocates of idolatry, and the partisans of a new system of liberal indifference to all forms of belief. One of the boldest of the latter class was the editor of the Enquirer, an English newspaper, intended for local circulation. An open attack made by some friends of this individual, upon a long-cherished superstition, was the occasion of bringing upon him some personal inconvenience ; and, while smarting under the sense of injurious treatment, he was thrown into contact with Mr Duff, who, while pleased with his renunciation of Hindooism, was grieved that he had not embraced a pure faith in its room. The missionary at length prevailed on him and several of his associates to attend a course of lectures on the evidences and doctrines of natural and revealed religion. In the conduct of this series he evinced much acuteness in grappling with the subtile arguments brought for-

ward by some of his audience. He led them on step by step, from proving the existence of an Intelligent First Cause to the development of the leading doctrines of the evangelical faith ; accompanying his reasonings and expositions by practical appeals to the conscience, whenever these were called for by the nature of the subject.

These prelections were by no means destitute of utility. Many were intellectually convinced ; some were savingly converted. The first brought to the belief of the truth was a native gentleman, Baboo Mohesh Chunderghose, previously a daring atheist. Driven from his unnatural tenets he took refuge in deism ; thence he passed to a bare acknowledgment that Christianity was a revelation from God ; and then he was not long in discovering that it is only the peculiar doctrines of the gospel which can afford suitable sustenance to the hungry soul. He was baptized in August 1832. The next convert was Krishna Mohana Banerji, the editor of the *Enquirer*. This able and enterprising man was for a time in great suspense, occasioned by the revolt of the proud legalism of his heart against the doctrines of grace ; but at last, by the mercy of God, he was led to embrace " the truth as it is in Jesus." He was baptized by Mr Duff in his lecture-room, in the presence of a considerable number both of natives and Europeans. Owing to the greater facilities for ordination possessed by the Episcopal church, Krishna afterwards entered its ministry. These two baptisms occurring among highly educated Hindoos, excited a much deeper sensation than numerous conversions from the lower classes would have done.

The lectures had begun in November 1831, and about the beginning of 1833 a new system of operations was commenced. First, for those who had given evidence of a spiritual change a week-day class was instituted for the more systematic study of the evidences and doctrines of Christianity, in order that they might be better able to contend with the enemies of the faith ;

and also a Sunday class for the reading of the Bible, and other religious exercises. Secondly, for all who acquiesced in the divine authority of the scriptures, though differing widely in regard to their contents, there was established a set of lectures, the object of which was to illustrate the vital truths of the evangelical system, as deduced from the Word of God. Thirdly, for those who disbelieved or questioned the divine origin of Christianity, there was begun a new series of lectures on the evidences. These separate courses were in various ways productive of much good.

In the beginning of 1834, Mr Duff commenced a series of lectures on the Socinian controversy, occasioned by the fear that a system, which flattered the pride of the unrenewed heart, might find proselytes among some of those who had externally received the christian religion. A remarkable instance of this is to be found in the case of the late Rajah Rammohun Roy, who abjured Hindooism for the "scanty creed" of Socinus. A public class was opened for the study of mental philosophy; and the text-book adopted was the posthumous work of Dr Thomas Brown. An investigation, on sound principles, of the science of mind, was judged a proper method of opposing the already considerable influence of sceptical metaphysics. These various plans of usefulness were all rich in promise; but a mysterious Providence now interposed to hurry him away from the scene of his exertions. He was seized with an illness which could in no other way be remedied than by a homeward voyage; and, in July 1834, he set sail from India.*

As soon as his health was sufficiently restored, Doctor Duff (for he had now received the well-won diploma of a doctor in theology) busily set himself to promote, by every means in his power, the cause which lay nearest to his heart. Nor was he unsuccessful. The Church of Scotland was not deaf to his call to spread a know-

* Duff's India and Indian Missions.

ledge of the gospel among the benighted natives of India. Year after year did he address Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, upon that exhaustless subject, which he knew so well how to handle ; and the same interesting theme was introduced by him to the attention of his countrymen at large. Multitudes crowded to listen to one who, in power and splendour of eloquence, has few superiors. The hearts of many beat with pious gratitude to God for raising up, as the first missionary of their church, a man so seldom equalled, either in gifts or in graces ; and many a knee was bent in earnest supplication to the Disposer of events, that he would so restore his servant's strength as to allow him to return to the land after which he longed with earnestness of soul. These petitions were heard ; and, in the latter part of 1839, he again left this country.

During his absence, his plans were vigorously prosecuted by Messrs Ewart and Mackay, the latter of whom, however, was obliged to go to New South Wales, in consequence of bad health. Two other ministers, Messrs Macdonald and Smith have since been sent out. Some baptisms, which took place among the pupils of the institution, attested the reality of the benefit produced by that seminary. One of these converts, Mahendra, Dr Duff describes as a person "whose capacity for all studies, whither literary, scientific, or theological, I have never seen surpassed in any land." An excellent pastoral letter was drawn up according to a recommendation of the General Assembly of 1840, and transmitted to the missionaries ; and the government journal in Calcutta thus notices the high acquirements made in the school under their charge :—"No examination gives us greater pleasure in attending, of any schools or institutions in Calcutta, than that of the pupils attached to this ; and we hesitate not to declare that it is by far the best conducted institution that we have amongst us." Even those most hostile to the principles of the seminary are constrained to admit and admire the efficiency with which it is conducted. An essay, by Mahendra, on

"the Influence of Sound Knowledge on Hindooism," was listened to by the audience with great delight. This intelligent and pious youth has sometimes addressed his countrymen on the subject of religion ; and on one occasion the heathens remarked, "truly, he looked a poor ignorant boy, but his words showed him to be a great pundit."* In November 1841, Jagadishar Bhattacharja, a young man of high Brahminical caste, after evincing the most unquestionable proofs of conversion, was baptized. An account of this occurrence by Dr Duff, which is replete with romantic interest, has been published in the form of a tract.

* Duff's India and Indian Missions. Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, 1839-1841. We subjoin some of the questions put to, and the answers given by Mahendra, as a candidate for the prize to the best general scholar in the institution.—"How does faith save a sinner? Faith is the instrument whereby the benefits of salvation purchased by Christ, and freely offered in the covenant of grace, are received by the sinner. It is the divinely appointed *instrument*, not the *cause*, of man's salvation. State and answer Hume's objection to miracles. Our experience of the veracity of human testimony, says Mr Hume, is variable ; but our experience of the uniformity of nature's sequences is invariable ; therefore, since a miracle is a violation of the laws of nature, which are invariable, no human testimony can make us believe the taking place of a miracle ; for, says he, testimony may be false ; the laws of nature never vary. This is a fallacious argument. It is a *petitio principii*. For he ought to have proved that the laws of nature have never varied. We say that there has been variation when miracles took place ; he says no, let him prove so. This he does not ; he takes it for granted. Again, we say, that the testimony of a sane honest man, in reference to facts which he saw, is invariably true ; whereas he would lead his readers to think that every kind of human testimony is variably true, may be true or not. Again, we say, God is not bound never to produce an effect directly by his power, but by the interference of physical or instrumental causes, even when the spiritual necessities of his intellectual creatures require that interference. Again, if revelation be necessary, and if revelation be made, it can be made in no other way than by a miracle. Therefore Hume's objection has no weight."

CHAPTER VII.

Missions to Ceylon and Western India.

Missions to Ceylon—English Baptists—American Labourers—Various Plans and Success—Institution at Batticotta—Notices of different Missionaries—Church Missionary Society—General Assembly's Mission at Bombay—Dr Wilson—Parsism—Poonah.

THE London Missionary Society made an effort to establish a mission in Ceylon ; but, after the lapse of some time it was abandoned, yet not till considerable good had been accomplished. The Baptists next entered the field, and their first labourer was the Rev. Mr Chater. He acquired two of the native languages, and published in them various elementary works. He established a line of native schools, chiefly in the neighbourhood of the great Kalany river. He erected several places of worship, and organized not a few congregations, to which he regularly preached in the English, Portuguese, and Cingalese tongues. After zealously labouring several years, he left the island in 1828, hoping that a voyage to England might invigorate his wasted frame ; but disease had made a fatal progress, and he expired before the vessel arrived at the Mauritius. He has been succeeded by Messrs Daniel and Siers. They have vigorously carried forward his plans, sending forth from the press several tracts, calculated to oppose the various forms of error prevalent in the country. The publications of Mr Daniel connected with the Romish controversy have roused much animosity against him ;

but, on the other hand, there is reason to hope that they have been useful to their readers.

The American Baptists have also maintained a mission in Ceylon. The first band of evangelists who went out consisted of the Rev. Messrs Warren, Richards, Meigs, Poor, and Bardwell. They arrived in March 1816; but the gentleman last named soon went to Bombay, in order to supply a vacancy in the mission there. The rest occupied two stations, Tillipally and Batticotta, devoting themselves vigorously to the acquisition of the native language; concerning which occupation it is remarked, that "all the strength and zeal of a missionary, fresh from a cold climate, and warm from the bosom of the christian church, and all the inspiration of novelty on his first arrival among the heathen, are necessary to carry him through the difficulties of an Eastern dialect, so as to make it familiar to him in speaking and writing." They also turned their attention to the education of the young. With some difficulty, they succeeded in establishing free schools for boys in several villages. The teachers employed were necessarily heathens; but they were required to relinquish the badges of paganism, to attend preaching on the Lord's day with the children, and to make use of christian books. After pursuing this attempt for some time in vain, the brethren at length prevailed upon six poor boys to become boarders at the Tillipally station, where they were supported by charitable associations in America. They received English names; and Samuel Worcester and Israel Putman continued their studies during ten years, when the former became a tutor in the mission seminary, and the latter an interpreter in one of the government offices. Jordan Lodge and Ebenezer Porter left school somewhat earlier, to engage in the service of the mission. At Batticotta a boarding-school was also instituted; and, after a year or two, even girls, to whose education the natives were very much opposed, were to be found residing in these establishments.

The case of Supyen will illustrate the hatred of the

heathens to the truth. This person was an intelligent Tamul lad of about nineteen years of age ; his father was wealthy, and connected with a temple near Jaffnapatam. While attending the school at Tillipally, he professed his belief in the Bible ; which being made known to his father, he treated him harshly, and Supyen made his escape to the mission station. Being invited home shortly afterwards, he was again ill used. Blows, banishment, threats of disinheritance, and caresses, were all used in order to make him sign a recantation of Christianity, which he at last did ; and, though his parent has since died, he continues attached to paganism.

In 1818, Mr Warren was cut off by a pulmonary complaint. Two years after, Messrs Spaulding, Winslow, and Woodward, and Dr Scudder, arrived in the island. In July of that year, a new station, Oodooville, was occupied by the two former, accompanied by their wives. Mr Garrett was sent out as printer to the mission ; but the jealousy of the government obliged him to quit the country. An order was subsequently issued that no further missionaries from the United States would be allowed to settle there. This edict was in force eleven years, but was rescinded on the representations of Sir R. W. Horton, then governor, who laid before the colonial secretary a just statement of the objectionable nature of such proceedings. It is remarkable that, during this period, none of the brethren previously in Ceylon were taken away by death or permanently disabled by sickness.

Mr and Mrs Spaulding were removed from Oodooville to Manepy, another station which had been founded. The success of the mission was considerable enough to encourage the hopes of the missionaries, though not so rapid as in some other fields of evangelistic labour. In 1821, three native preachers, Franciscus Malleapah, Gabriel Tissera, and Nicholas Permander, who all passed a satisfactory examination at Oodooville, were ordained on the 5th of November. In the following August, Mr Richards died. His fellow-labourer, Mr Winslow, re-

marks,—“he was eminently a *good man*; a more humble, mild, consistent, and happy Christian is seldom found; he had the spirit of Christ. While a student in Williams' College, he, in connexion with Mills, Hall, and others, consecrated himself to the missionary work. This little band, in 1808, while the subject of missions was almost unknown in America and little felt even in England, used to retire to a consecrated spot under a hay-stack in a meadow, to fast and pray for divine direction; and there they bound themselves, by a written agreement, each to attempt in his own person, and aid the others in attempting, a mission to the heathen. * * He never regretted having devoted himself to the heathen. When there seemed little prospect of aid from the churches in America, he resolved, should no other door open, to work his passage on board of some vessel to a heathen shore, and there support himself as he could while proclaiming the gospel; and, in one of the last letters which he wrote to America, he says;—‘I have never been sorry that I came to India. Had I ten thousand lives to give, they should all be sacrificed in this blessed cause.’”

In 1823, an institution was established at Batticotta, the object of which was to give a sound course of education to native youths, some of whom might become qualified to act as catechists and preachers to their countrymen. Mr Poor undertook the management of the seminary. Forty-eight lads were admitted the first year, who passed a satisfactory examination in the Tamul and English Testament, and the primary rules of arithmetic. Nearly about the same time, a central school for girls was commenced at Oodooville, which soon had twenty-nine pupils. This establishment was productive of great spiritual good to the young persons educated in it. At the same station, in January 1825, after a season of remarkable religious concern, no fewer than forty-one persons were admitted to baptism at the same time. As Mrs Winslow's health required a change of air, she, with her husband, went to Calcutta, where a residence for three months during the

cold season was productive of great advantage. The latter improved the opportunity to solicit subscriptions for the seminary at Batticotta, in which he had considerable success, being favoured with the countenance of Bishop Heber, Archdeacon Corrie, and the Rev. T. Thomason, names intimately connected with the best interests of India.

Nothing very particular occurred for some years after ; but in 1830, both at Batticotta and Oodooville, the work of conversion, which had seemed to be almost at a stand, was revived, and considerable additions were made to the church. The native free schools were between eighty and ninety in number, and contained upwards of 3000 children, of whom more than 500 were girls. There was a monthly examination of the pupils at each, when the progress of every one was noted, and the teacher remunerated in proportion. The mission seminary continued to prosper ; and three classes, including forty-three students, had finished their course of education. "The greater part of these youths had made a profession of Christianity, and were prepared, by their knowledge of English and Tamul literature, and the study of geography, astronomy, natural philosophy, and some branches of the mathematics, to be useful in different situations." At the examinations of the seminary in Tamul, there were produced such dissertations as the following :—"On the form, dimensions, and motion of the earth ; nature and properties of the atmosphere ; distance and size of the sun, moon, and planets, and means of measuring them ; cause of eclipses, and principles on which they are calculated ; method of finding the latitude at sea ; the six mechanical powers ; comparison of the Hindoo and European systems of geography and astronomy ; the Bible and Puranic accounts of the creation of the world and of the first man ; and the evidences of Christianity." Various native catechists and teachers were employed in the service of the mission. A very large number of tracts and portions of the scriptures had been distributed among the natives.

On the 14th of January 1833, Mrs Winslow was removed to the paradise above, after a short illness. Her character is well depicted by herself, when, in writing to a sister, she expressed her idea of what a missionary's wife should be :—"She should have sincere and humble piety, a good temper, common sense, a cultivated mind, a thorough knowledge of household economy, and affable manners." The following lines to her memory were written by Mrs Sigourney, a friend and companion of her early days :—

"Thy name hath power like magic :

Back it brings

The earliest pictures hung in memory's halls,
Tinting them freshly o'er. The rugged cliff ;
The tow'ring trees ; the wintry walk to school ;
The page so often conn'd ; the needle's task
Achieved with weariness ; the hour of sport
Well earn'd and dearly prized ; the sparkling brook
Making its clear cascade ; the darker rush
Of the pent river through its rocky pass ;
Our violet-gatherings 'midst the vernal banks ;
When our young hearts did ope their crystal gates
To every simple joy.

I little deem'd,

'Mid all that gay and gentle fellowship,
That Asia's sun would beam upon thy grave ;
Though even then, from thy calm, serious eye,
There was a glancing forth of serious thought
That scorn'd earth's vanities.

I saw thee stand

With but a few brief summers o'er thy head,
And in the consecrated courts of God
Confess thy Saviour's name. And they who mark'd
The deep devotion and the high resolve
Of that scarce half-blown bud, did wond'ring ask,
What its full bloom must be.

But now thy bed

Is with thine infant train, where the sad voice
Of the young Ceylon mother tells her child
Of all thy pray'rs and labours. Yes, thy rest
Is in the bosom of that fragrant isle
Where heathen man with lavish nature strives
To blot the lesson she would teach of God.
Thy pensive sisters pause upon thy tomb,
To catch the spirit that did bear thee through .

All tribulation, till thy robes were white,
To join the angelic train.

And so farewell,
My childhood's playmate, and my sainted friend,
Whose bright example, not without rebuke,
Admonisheth ; that home, and ease, and wealth,
And native land, are well exchanged for heaven."

In the month of October 1833, Messrs Todd, Hutchings, Hoisington, Apthorp, and Dr Ward, joined the Ceylon mission, and were followed in the ensuing February by the Rev. Mr Eckard, and Mr Minor, a printer. About the beginning of 1834, Madura, on the mainland, was selected as a fit locality for a mission ; and, a short time afterwards, possession was also taken of Ramnad, near the coast. In the same year, a spirit of revival appeared in some of the churches, which had now increased to seven, Batticotta, Tillipally, Oodoo-ville, Panditeripo, Manepy, Chavagacherry, and Varany. Since that time, we believe, the mission has continued to prosper.*

The mind of the Rev. Dr Coke had been much impressed with the importance of a mission to Ceylon and India ; and he had, with great generosity, offered to defray the whole expense incurred by the outfit of the first labourers. Having obtained the concurrence of the Wesleyan Conference in favour of his plans, regardless of his advanced age, he determined to accompany those who had offered to devote themselves to the work. At the close of 1813, he embarked with six of their number, but expired of apoplexy in the course of the voyage. The others, on their arrival, resolved to separate, one body going to Jaffna and Batticaloo for the study of Tamul, and the other to Galle and Matura, to become acquainted with Cingalese. They were well received by the British at the several places ; and at Galle, Mr Clough was favoured with the decided countenance of Lord Molesworth, who frequently appeared with him on

* Memoir of Mrs Winslow by her Husband. Missionary Records, Ceylon.

public occasions, and was seldom absent from the weekly meeting held in a private house. The same preacher was instrumental in converting Petrus Panditta Sohara, a Boodhist priest, whose change of faith created a considerable excitement among the pagan population. His literary qualifications procured him the office of Cingalese translator to the government. Several other members of the sacerdotal order followed his example; and conversions among other classes were not infrequent. One of the most interesting cases was that of a native teacher who was baptized by the name of Abraham, after having been a year and a half a candidate for the sacred rite. A missionary remarks:—"His affecting simplicity of behaviour on that interesting occasion will be long remembered, as bearing every character of the deepest sincerity. Accordingly, he became quite decided in his conduct, and most tender and kind in his attachment to us. Faithful to his trust, and affectionate in the discharge of his duty, my confidence in his future usefulness increased; and I most sincerely thanked God for granting to us so eminent a token of his approbation of our labours." This estimable individual died a few months afterwards in the faith and hope of the gospel. Another convert, Don Louis Perera, a native assistant, died in January 1831. Some of his last words were, "Christ is love! Christ loves me, and Christ died for me! I do not fear to die, for Christ can save me. Christ loves me! Christ loves me! O my Saviour, grant me grace! have mercy upon me, and save me!"

A valuable library, consisting of commentaries and other critical works on the Scriptures, was sent out to the Wesleyan brethren; and it was resolved to conduct the translation of the Bible at Colombo. Several thousands of the Cingalese version of the Old and New Testament have been circulated; the latter being given to the Boodhists in their own sacred dialect, the Pali. Some time ago, there were ten stations and sixty-three schools belonging to the mission. "The several languages used by the inhabitants, whether learned or ver-

naular, have been acquired ; other valuable books have been composed or rendered into the native tongues ; several hundreds of heathens have been united in religious fellowship ; the strongholds of atheism and idolatry have been boldly attacked, and shaken to their foundations ; and the gospel is finding access into the remotest parts and most exclusive circles of the island."

The Church Missionary Society sent out agents to Ceylon in 1818 ; and of the success attained by them Bishop Heber thus speaks :—" Christianity has made perhaps a greater progress in this island than in all India besides. There are some very meritorious missionaries ; two of whom have got together a very respectable congregation of natives, as well as a large school, and a pretty church, which I consecrated last Sunday, in one of the wildest and most beautiful situations that I ever saw. The effects of these exertions have been very happy, both among the Roman Catholic descendants of the Portuguese, and among the heathen." Much good is anticipated from the schools established by the missionaries. A year or two ago, the present bishop of Calcutta, during his visitation, examined the boys of the institution at Catta, the principal station of the society. The subjects of examination were biblical knowledge, geography, trigonometry, geometry, Latin, the Greek Testament, and the Hebrew Bible. The prelate remarked, that this was the first time he had ever heard Hebrew read by the natives of India. He exhorted the pupils to persevere in their studies with diligence and humility.*

In 1823, the Scottish Missionary Society sent out the Rev. Donald Mitchell, who was followed by the Rev. Messrs James Mitchell, Alexander Crawford, and John Cooper. Mr D. Mitchell did not long survive ; but his place was supplied by the Rev. John Stevenson. The others took up their residence at Bankot and Hamai, where they established schools, both for boys

* Missionary Records. Ceylon.

and girls, and preached to the natives whenever a suitable opportunity presented itself. In February 1829, the Rev. John Wilson, with his wife, arrived at Bombay. The peculiar circumstances which seemed to mark out that city as the scene of their labours, were its immense population, its intercourse with all parts of the surrounding country and with different unbelieving nations, the diminution of the prejudices of caste by the intercourse of the natives with Europeans, and the facilities with which large congregations could be assembled, bibles and tracts circulated, and education promoted. Great difficulties were presented to Mrs Wilson's efforts to establish female seminaries; but she persevered, and ere half-a-year elapsed, she had under her care six schools containing 120 pupils.

Both at Bombay and the other stations several real conversions were made, though, in more than one instance, persons of whom the missionaries had thought well brought discredit upon the christian cause. Mr Wilson, besides attacking the various forms of Hindoo superstition, engaged in controversy with the advocates of Parseeism, or the worship of fire. His wife, a woman of great talents and accomplishments, devoted her whole energies to the sacred cause; occasionally employing her pen as well as superintending the instruction of the young females. She died in April 1835, at the age of thirty-nine. Since that period the conversion of two Parsee youths created a great excitement in the community to which they belonged. Attempts were made to get forcible possession of their persons, and prevent them from having any opportunities of hearing the word of life. The effect of this excitement upon the mission is thus described by Dr Duff, who visited Bombay in April 1840:—"It has laid an arrest on the friendly intercourse which began to subsist between the members of the mission and many of the more influential of the native community. It drove into alienation and desertion the young men educated in government seminaries, who had been induced to attend Dr Wilson's

former weekly lecture, and Messrs Nisbet and Mitchell's private evening classes. It greatly affected the attendance on the services in the vernacular languages. It broke up certain departments in connexion with female education. It almost annihilated for a time the English institution,—reducing at once the number of pupils from 260 to 50,—and removing the whole of the Parsee youth, by far the most advanced and promising of the number." Undismayed by this general opposition, the missionaries, who had some time previously been received into connexion with the General Assembly's Foreign Mission Scheme, continued their labours, and at length had the happiness to perceive the troubles which beset them disappear in a considerable degree. In the institution "the course of lectures, readings, and examinations on the evidences and doctrines of Christianity, occupies four years. That on Old Testament history and biography, embracing a connected view of the Adamic, Abrahamic, and Mosaic dispensations, the development of the scheme of redemption, and the connexion between sacred and profane history, requires two years." It is anticipated that this seminary, like the kindred establishment at Calcutta, will prove an effective means for sapping the influence of paganism. At Bombay there are at present three ministers of the Scottish Church, Dr John Wilson, Robert Nisbet, and John M. Mitchell.

At Poonah there is a branch of the mission, superintended by the Rev. James Mitchell. Mr James Aitken has recently gone out as a lay assistant.*

* Memoir of Mrs Wilson. Duff's Bombay in April 1840. Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, 1839-1841.

CHAPTER VIII.

Missions to China and the Eastern Peninsula.

Missions to China—Dr Morrison—Translation of the Scriptures and other Works—Conversions—Leang Afah, a Chinese Preacher—Death of Morrison—Gutzlaff—Medharst—Recent Operations—Malacca—Dr Milne—Anglo-Chinese College—Essay on the Soul—Exposition of the Ephesians—Death of Milne—Present State of the Mission—Penang—Batavia—Tract Distribution—Productions of the Mission Press—Burman Empire—Mr and Mrs Judson—Moung Nan and other Converts—Visit to the Capital—Burmese War—Sufferings of the Missionaries—Death of Mrs Judson—Labours of Mr Boardman—Recent Proceedings—Missions in Russian Asia.

UNTIL the beginning of the present century no Protestant evangelist set foot within the dominions of the Chinese Empire. In the year 1805, the directors of the London Missionary Society resolved to attempt a translation of the Bible into the language of that country. Their views were also directed to Penang in Malacca, which being a free port, and having a colony of Chinese emigrants settled in it, seemed to afford a good opportunity for labouring among the people, and becoming acquainted with their tongue. But, in the course of a few months, reasons occurred for altering this plan, and Mr Robert Morrison, the first missionary, was despatched to Canton. His talents, according to his subsequent fellow-labourer Mr Milne, "were rather of the solid than the showy kind; fitted more for continued labour than to astonish by sudden bursts of genius; and his well known caution fitted him for a station

where one false step at the beginning might have delayed the work for ages."

Morrison went out by the way of America, and during his brief stay in the United States, the object he had in view so recommended itself to Mr Madison, the secretary of state, that he gave him a letter of introduction to the consul at Canton, which proved of great service to him. Having landed at Macao in September 1807, he proceeded thence to the city just named, where he lived for some time in a very retired and economical manner. He adopted the dress and manners of the natives; allowing his nails and hair to grow, eating with chop-sticks, and walking about the factory in their thick shoes. This conduct, which might have been suitable in the interior whither no Europeans come, was perhaps unwise in Canton, where the line of distinction between natives and foreigners is strongly drawn, and the latter are expected to retain their own usages. Becoming sensible of this, he resumed his European habits, and was soon introduced by Sir George Staunton to Mr Roberts, the chief of the Company's factory, who greatly furthered his views. His communications to the directors were so fraught with a right temper, that they remarked in a Report, "the spirit of perseverance, fortitude, diligence, and fervent piety, manifested by our missionary, affords us great satisfaction, and we trust is a happy presage of the accomplishment of that great work to which he is devoted."

In 1808, a misunderstanding between the British and Chinese authorities compelled him, with all other Englishmen, to repair to Macao, where he occupied himself in learning the several dialects. At the close of that year he married Miss Morton, daughter of John Morton, Esq., and on the same day received the appointment of translator to the factory at Canton, with a salary which rendered him independent of all aid from the society's funds. In his new situation he could acquire the language, and prepare his contemplated dic-

tionary with more success than would have been otherwise attainable. As he could not be satisfied in his conscience without imparting oral instruction to the natives, he assembled a few in his own room every Sabbath, and with locked doors, for all public efforts were forbidden, he read and explained the New Testament to them. In 1810, he revised and printed a translation of the Acts, the work of a Romanist, which he had taken out with him. The expense was considerable, amounting to half a-crown a copy, as the workmen took advantage of the book being a prohibited one to advance their charges. On presenting a copy to the British and Foreign Bible Society, the committee voted £500 to aid him in promoting the circulation of the Scriptures. At various subsequent periods, the directors of that noble institution acted with equal liberality.

In 1811, Mr Morrison transmitted a Chinese grammar, compiled by him, to Bengal, for the purpose of being printed; but it was not given to the public until 1815, when it issued from the Serampore press at the expense of the East India Company. In the course of 1811 and 1812, the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, and Luke were printed, and that of John was subsequently added. The Assembly's Shorter Catechism was translated, and a small tract on redemption, since widely circulated, was drawn up. These labours were prosecuted in defiance of an edict of the Chinese government, which made the printing of religious books and the preaching of the gospel capital offences. The directors of the Missionary Society sent as a coadjutor to Mr Morrison, Mr William Milne, a native of Aberdeenshire, who had adopted the resolution of devoting himself to missionary enterprise. On his arrival at Macao in July 1813, he was ordered by the Portuguese governor, incited it is supposed by the Romish clergy, to quit the island in ten days. He proceeded to Canton, where he devoted five months to the study of the language, and then set sail for Java.

In January 1814, he thus wrote to the committee

of the Bible Society :—"The translation of the New Testament has been completed, and I hourly expect the last sheet from the press. The gospels, the closing epistles, and the book of Revelation, are entirely my own translating. The middle part of the volume is founded on the work of some unknown individual, whose pious labours were deposited in the British Museum. I took the liberty of altering and supplying what appeared to me requisite; and I feel great pleasure in recording the benefit which I first derived from the labours of my unknown predecessor." In the same year, the East India Company despatched an experienced printer with the necessary apparatus, to carry his dictionary through the press; and a more important event took place in the baptism of the first Chinese convert Tsae-A-ko. He was admitted into the visible church by the missionary at a spring of water which issued from a lofty hill by the seaside, far from all human observation. He had during several years been in the habit of receiving instruction, and adhered to the profession of the gospel till his death in 1818, at the age of thirty-one.*

During the winter of 1814, the sum of 1000 dollars was paid to Mr Morrison by the executors of William Parry, Esq., for the purpose of diffusing the knowledge of the gospel; the chief part being appropriated to the printing of the New Testament. In the course of a short time, there were received several grants of money from the Bible and Tract Societies, and the liberality of a few friends in America who contributed £400. In 1816, he accompanied Lord Amherst to Peking, and acquired in this journey considerable knowledge of the various provinces, and of the dialects spoken in them. In the following year, he received from the *Senatus Academicus* of Glasgow College the degree of doctor in divinity. About the same time, he made an arrangement with Mr Milne, then at Malacca, for the translation of the Old Testament. He took the Pentateuch, with the Psalms and

* Medhurst's China, p. 253-264.

Prophetical books, and left the remainder to his colleague.

The doctor's health, which had suffered from severe attacks of indisposition, revived in 1819, and towards the close of that year the translation of the Old Testament was completed by the joint labours of himself and coadjutor. He thus speaks of his performance :—" I have studied fidelity, perspicuity, and simplicity. I have preferred common words to classical ones ; and would rather be deemed inelegant than hard to be understood. To the task I have brought patient endurance of labour and seclusion from society, a calm and unprejudiced judgment, and I hope an accurate mode of thinking, with a reverential sense of the awful responsibility of misrepresenting God's Word."

In the summer of 1820, he opened a dispensary for the Chinese poor at Macao, which was gratuitously attended by Dr Livingstone till the end of the season. It was very popular, but the funds supplied were inadequate to its continuance.

In 1822, he had the satisfaction of contributing essentially towards the renewal of intercourse between the Chinese and our countrymen, who had been involved in a commercial dispute. In the same year, he saw his Chinese dictionary printed at an expense of £15,000 to the East India Company.

Having paid a visit to Malacca, he returned to England in 1824, and in April was introduced to George IV. by the president of the Board of Control. He laid before the king a copy of the Chinese scriptures; and received, through the Secretary of State, an expression of his majesty's approbation of his useful labours. At the meeting of the Missionary Society in May, he presented a copy of his version of the Bible and of his Dictionary. During the following year he remained in this country, and occupied himself in forming an institution, designed to afford to missionaries of every class facilities for acquiring the rudiments of the native language before proceeding to their stations. A few students began the study of Chinese on this principle.

In May 1828, he again set sail for China, and, on the 19th September, arrived safely at Macao. During his absence, Leang Afah, a convert of Milne's, whom he had ordained previous to his departure as an evangelist, had composed various works for the use of his countrymen, and was occupied in labouring among them. In a letter to the directors, Afah thus expresses himself:—"I thank the Lord for his wondrous mercy in converting my whole family. Having been made a partaker of this great grace, my chief happiness consists in obeying the precepts of the Lord, and in loving others as myself; the greatest expression of which is to teach them to know the true God and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ in redeeming the world." In the beginning of 1828, Afah baptized a convert named Keu Teen-ching, a young man brought up to the learned profession, residing in a village about eighty miles from Canton. In a letter to the chief missionary, the new disciple styles Leang his "religious elder brother." Two years afterwards, the evangelist admitted another native, Keu Agang, into the church. In the summer of 1830, accompanied by one of the converts, he went to Kaou-tcheou-fou, about 150 miles west-south-west of Canton, on the occasion of a literary examination, where he supplied the students with tracts to the number of 700.

In 1832, Dr Morrison thus wrote:—"I have been twenty-five years in China, and am now beginning to see the work prosper. By the press we have been able to scatter knowledge far and wide. Agang has been engaged with the lithographic press, and Afah in printing nine tracts of his own composition, besides teaching his countrymen daily, three of whom he has baptized during the year." Afah frequently went to the literary examinations, which he thought afforded very favourable opportunities for distributing tracts.

On the 1st of August 1834, the doctor died, full of faith and hope, having continued his ministrations till the Lord's Day before his death. In his last letter to the directors, he wrote thus:—"I wait patiently the

events to be developed in the course of Divine Providence. The Lord reigneth. If the kingdom of God our Saviour prosper in China, all will be well: other matters are comparatively of small importance. May the Lord bless and prosper the London Missionary Society; and may we all be prepared for that day which is fast approaching."*

Shortly after his death, the Chinese authorities, being irritated at the British on account of Lord Napier's proceedings, issued a proclamation against all foreign books, which, in a manner very characteristic of the ridiculous insolence of their nation, they denominated "obscene and idle tales." Leang Afah, though closely pursued by the officers of the government, providentially escaped to Macao; his friends having great reason to fear, that if taken, his life would have been sacrificed to the blind fury of the enemies of the gospel.

In July 1835, Mr Medhurst arrived at Canton, in order to inquire after the little flock of native Christians left by Dr Morrison, and to undertake a coasting voyage to distribute religious works among them. He found it difficult to collect information respecting the converts, as the persecution of the previous year had dispersed them far and wide; and there was ground to apprehend that the notice of the ruling powers would be drawn to them, if any inquiry were made. The congregation did not amount to above a dozen; and of these only a few could be deemed true believers. One of the most interesting of them was Lew Tso-ahuen, a man of considerable literary acquirements, who proved very useful to the mission by carrying the works which issued from its press.

Several voyages along the coast of China had previously been made by Mr Gutzlaff, a German sent out by the Netherlands Missionary Society, who, by his skill in medicine and occasional adoption of the native dress, conciliated the attention of the people, and found means

* Medhurst, p. 264-278.

to distribute a large number of tracts. Encouraged by his attempts, Mr Medhurst, not long after his arrival in Canton, proceeded along the eastern shore in an American brig having on board twenty boxes of books, which were completely exhausted before he returned. He gave away about 18,000 volumes, of which 6000 consisted of extracts from the scriptures; and these were willingly received by the people. On a few occasions, some jealousy was manifested by the officers of government; but the distributor was never exposed to injury or insult. He, however, while communicating an account of this expedition to the directors, expressed his opinion that no missionary would be allowed to penetrate far into the interior, and still less to take up his residence in any part of the country except Canton. He referred at the same time to the good effected by means of books at the Reformation, as a ground of hope that such cursory visits as he had just paid might not be altogether unattended with success.

A short time previous to Dr Morrison's death, he had received an appointment from his Britannic Majesty similar to that which he had long held under the Company; and in this office he was succeeded by his son. This gentleman, though very desirous for the spread of the gospel, was unable to do more for its extension than might be accomplished by explaining its truths to his domestics. He was urgent in his request for a regular missionary; and, in July 1838, Mr Lockhart, a surgeon, sailed from England; but he had only arrived a short time when the hostile proceedings of the government, in consequence of the opium dispute, obliged him to retire to Batavia. All access to "the celestial empire" seems closed by the present unhappy contest.

We have seen that Mr Milne was obliged to leave Macao by the jealousy of the Portuguese. He afterwards visited Java and Malacca; and, deeming the latter place, from its position, favourable for missionary operations, he took up his abode there in 1815. Major Farquhar, the English resident, hospitably received

him into his house until a dwelling of his own was procured, and at his request, he took charge of the Dutch Reformed Church. There was immediately established a Chinese school, into which fifteen children were admitted. A public service was commenced; and family worship was daily conducted, to which the retainers of the mission paid serious attention. In August, there appeared the first number of the Chinese Magazine, a periodical in which literature and science were made subservient to the promulgation of divine truth. In the same year, Mr Thomsen went out to labour among the Malays, whose language he immediately began to study.

The first event of remarkable importance in the history of the mission was the baptism of Leang Afah, which took place on the 3d November 1816. He was one of the printers employed by Mr Milne, and had for several months paid great attention to that gentleman's instructions. According to a statement of his conversion drawn up by himself, having his mind turned to religious subjects, he asked a Boodhist priest from China what he should do to procure the pardon of his sins, and was told to recite daily "the true forms of devotion," which his instructor gave him in a volume. The repeating of these a thousand times would cancel all the debts of his past life. He accordingly began this exercise, and persevered in it some time, until one evening, while sitting alone, the thought struck him that the mere reciting of prayers, unaccompanied with virtuous actions, could not obtain forgiveness for him.

He now heard his superior preach regularly, and examined the scriptures, with the morality of which he was highly pleased. The miracles wrought by Christ in evidence of his mission appeared to attest it satisfactorily; and the inquirer at this stage desired a more complete explanation of the great doctrines of the New Testament. These being expounded by the missionary, Afah was led by divine grace to feel an adequate sense of his need of a Saviour, and to receive Jesus Christ freely offered to

him in the gospel. Some persecution to which he was exposed soon after baptism, was so far sanctified as to make him steadfast in the faith.

In June 1817, Mr Medhurst arrived as an assistant in the mission. He was appointed to superintend the various works in the Chinese, Malay, and English languages which were passing through the press at Malacca. Mr Milne meanwhile persevered in his labours with unwearied industry and zeal. As a proof of his earnestness, we may quote the following passage from his diary :—"Thou knowest, O my God, that I wish to feel a deeper sense of my increased obligation to serve thee more purely and faithfully, both as a Christian and as a missionary. What is this frail life of mine protracted for! Alas! how much is yet to be done in my heart! How far am I from that vigorous faith in Christ, love to thee, holiness of heart, self-denied zeal, humility, benevolence of heart, and usefulness of life, which I ought to possess and display! O for that simplicity and oneness of aim in all my doings, viz. to propose thy glory as my chief end! How great a mixture of unworthy motives do I perceive in my proceedings! How seldom do noble and divine principles govern either my thoughts or my pursuits! O Lord, in mercy forgive, and work in me both to will and to do of thy good pleasure!"*

In November 1818, the foundation of the Anglo-Chinese College was laid; a seminary which was designed to promote the cultivation of literature in connexion with the diffusion of Christianity. It owed its origin to Dr Morrison, who gave £1000 towards the erection of the house, and £500 for the education of one European and one native student for the first five years. The directors of the society voted £500 in aid of the funds, conceiving it calculated to advance the interests of true religion in the East. About the same period, the mission was strengthened by the arrival of three addi-

* Morrison's Life of Milne, p. 47.

tional labourers, Messrs Beighton, Ince, and Milton, the former of whom applied himself to the study of the Malay, and the latter two to that of the Chinese tongue.

On the 7th February 1819, Mr Milne makes this entry in his journal :—"I engaged in the usual Chinese exercises of the day. I had given Afah, John iii. 16, to write a little on as a trial ; he wrote very good sense, but left out the article of redemption ; and, excepting the divinity of Christ, made it exactly a Socinian discourse on the design of Christ's coming into the world. By this, after hearing the gospel so long, I see two things : first, How difficult it is to explain the doctrine of redemption to the heathen mind, so as to convey, I will not say an adequate, but a *just* view of the subject. Secondly, the importance of catechising, and by questions endeavouring to bring their minds to a distinct and edifying consideration of particular subjects and particular passages of scripture. Things delivered in the general are apt to lose their effect." During the same year the distribution of tracts was vigorously carried on, and almost every house in the town was visited, for the purpose of conversing with the inhabitants upon religious truths. The cholera raged with great violence, and hence occasion was taken to press home upon men's minds the necessity of preparing to meet that God whose judgments "were abroad in the earth." The three brethren who first arrived now undertook the whole task of the mission, as those who had recently joined them left Malacca for other stations.

In 1820, Messrs Fleming and Huttman arrived, the latter to take charge of the printing department instead of Mr Medhurst, who was removed to Penang. Mr Thomson succeeded in rescuing a Malay family from slavery, and had the delight to witness the good effect of his instructions in their renunciation of Mohammedanism for Christianity. Mr Milne drew up an elaborate treatise in two volumes, entitled, "Essay on the Soul," in which he combated the opinions relative to transmigration and annihilation which prevailed among different

classes of natives, and explained the true nature and immortality of the soul, with the only method of delivering it from the dominion of that sin to which it is by nature subject. The metaphysical character which some portions of the treatise naturally assumed, was relieved by frequent addresses to the conscience, introduced on all suitable occasions. The author, who consulted a variety of books, bestowed great pains upon his style; and he also began an exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians, which was finished in the following year. Several other works were at the same time in progress, and the great assiduity which he displayed in his evangelistic operations may be estimated from the following sketch of his Sabbath employment:—"Morning, at seven, preaching in Chinese; at ten, ditto in English; at twelve, the usual Chinese catechetical exercise, at which five, six, seven, and so on attended. At four P.M., met a few lads and some grown persons to hear their catechism, and their reading of religious books in Chinese; and for the last three months have visited the schools. At five, heard Mr Eddington, Mr Bone, and Amelia (his daughter) repeat a psalm, or such like. At seven, discoursed again in Chinese. At half-past eight, talked for a little in Malay with my domestics." He was equally indefatigable in his week-day labours. In November 1820, the *Senatus Academicus* of the University of Glasgow conferred on him the degree of doctor in divinity.

Dr Milne's health had for some time been giving way under the intensity of his exertions, and he was advised to return to Europe for its recovery. In the beginning of 1822, his disorder obliged him to remove to Singapore, and thence to Penang. Growing worse, he expressed a wish to return to Malacca, and had scarcely landed when he died on the 2d of June, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. A monument was erected to his memory by Dr Morrison, with appropriate inscriptions in Hebrew and Chinese.*

* Life of Milne, pp. 57, 58, 86-96. Medhurst, p. 306-316.

Meanwhile the mission had been strengthened by the arrival of Messrs Humphreys and Collie, while it was deprived of the services of Mr Thomsen, who repaired to Singapore. The number of students in the college amounted to fifteen, who so far adopted Christianity as to abstain from idolatrous ceremonies, though none of them manifested unequivocal signs of conversion. In 1824, when Mr Kidd arrived, the inmates had increased to twenty-six. Nothing remarkable occurred till 1826, when Mr Smith went out, and the station was visited by Messrs Tyerman and Bennet, who were making a voyage of inspection of the various establishments belonging to the Missionary Society. These gentlemen, who expressed themselves pleased with the progress of affairs, state that "all the children in these schools are half-castes; the fathers being Chinese, and the mothers Malays. They generally speak their *mother* tongue, the Malayan; but in the college they are required to use Chinese only."*

In 1827, the mission chapel was opened for divine service, and sermons were delivered in the various languages spoken in the settlement. In the following year, Mr Collie was removed by death, and the Chinese branch of the duties devolved on Messrs Kidd and Smith, while Mr Humphreys preached in Malay. Miss Newell, who had been sent out from England to promote female education, succeeded in establishing five girls' schools in Malacca. Two works proceeded from students at the college, both translations, one of Keith on the Globes, and the other of "Stockii Clavis Novi Testamenti." Mr Hughes was sent out in place of Messrs Smith and Humphreys, who returned to their native country.

Prior to 1831, several Malays and Chinese had been baptized, and three schools were opened by Mr Hughes. Miss Wallace, who now superintended the female branch, had ten girls' schools under her care, with fully 200 scholars. In the following year, when Mr Kidd was

* Journal, vol. ii. p. 274.

succeeded by Mr Tomlin, the number in the various seminaries exceeded 500. In 1833, the stipend allowed to the students in the college was withdrawn as being no longer necessary. In the beginning of 1834, Mr Evans took charge of its affairs, and in his report for that year, speaks of it as the *Alma Mater* of China,—the instrument, directly or indirectly, of converting every one who had embraced the christian faith. Since the commencement of the institution forty students had finished their education; some of whom were sincere believers, and all of them respectable members of society.

The mission continued to prosper, and, in 1837, the teachers transmitted home most gratifying accounts. In April and May of that year, no fewer than thirty individuals were admitted into the church by baptism; and all, without exception, adorned their christian profession by suitable lives.* A female boarding-school had been lately opened, and printing operations continued with vigour; but the last annual report speaks of "the general aspect of the mission as deficient in encouragement." Mr Evans had died of cholera, and Messrs Legge and Werth were then the society's agents.†

A mission was established at Penang in 1819, and the station occupied by Messrs Beighton and Ince. In 1824, a neat chapel was built, towards which the inhabitants of the settlement contributed very liberally. In consequence of the death of Mr Ince, Mr Dyer was sent thither. Shortly after his arrival, he commenced the work of casting moveable metallic types for the native language, and occupied himself in going about from house to house, proclaiming the great truths of the gospel. In order to be more completely among them, he bought a small house in the centre of the Chinese town, where he received all who came for religious instruction or medical advice. Some years afterwards, the number of baptized persons amounted to thirteen. At the close of 1835, he was appointed to Malacca, and his

* Medhurst, p. 316-325.

† Reports of London Missionary Society for 1840-1841.

place supplied by Mr Davies. At thi station the Malay schools have prospered much more than the Chinese. A mission has, since the year 1819, been supported at Singapore, and has been honoured by God for the conversion of some souls.

In 1814, Messrs Thom, Supper, and Bruckner, arrived at Batavia, for the purpose of forming permanent stations in the Malay archipelago. The first named proceeded to Amboyna, and Mr Bruckner went to Samarang, where he took charge of a Dutch congregation, but, some time after, from a change of ecclesiastical sentiment, he joined the Baptist Missionary Society, and has since continued under its auspices to labour among the Javanese. Mr Supper remained in Batavia, where he preached to the native Christians, converted by the Dutch clergy, a class of persons whose moral character was by no means high. He also distributed the scriptures and tracts in Chinese, which were generally well received; but after labouring three years, this useful missionary was cut off by disease. Mr Slater supplied his place, and in 1821, a small bamboo chapel was built at the expense of £200, which was chiefly raised by the English inhabitants.

In the beginning of 1822, Mr Medhurst arrived, and in the following year, owing to the dissolution of his predecessor's connexion with the society, the whole burden of the mission devolved on him. He introduced into the schools the practice of making the parents pay half the expense, in order to induce them to take an interest in the education of their children, and relieve the funds of the society. This plan has been found to work well. He likewise spent the greater part of every day at a house which he had hired for the purpose in the centre of the town, exhorting all who came to embrace the gospel. This dwelling was made a store-house for books. Printers being procured from China, various works were published in the language of that empire, and among others, the Chinese Magazine, which was resumed at this station, having been discontinued at

Malacca since the death of Dr Milne. Of this periodical 1000 copies were issued monthly. Tracts for children were printed on the model of the native story-books, substituting evangelical for heathen sentiments. He thus describes the mode adopted by him to excite attention among the natives :—"The distributor would sometimes go with a few tracts in his hand, and sitting down in a public place, would read to those who happened to be near ; more would soon gather round and look on, to whom the missionary would address himself on the subject of the tract, and at the conclusion present the by-standers with a few copies, which were in general well received. Thus the Chinese town was visited almost daily, and the opportunity embraced of addressing all who were at leisure. At their religious feasts, the visiting of the tombs, or sacrifices to the dead, there was no want of hearers ; as on these occasions the Chinese seemed to relax their wonted eagerness for business, and listened willingly to religious discourse." In one of his excursions he found a native who had set up over his altar-piece a picture of Napoleon in a gilt frame, to which he was in the habit of offering incense.

In 1825, Messrs Tyerman and Bennet, who visited Batavia, accompanied Mr Medhurst on a tour to the eastern parts of the island. The object of this expedition was to ascertain the openings that appeared for the spread of Christianity ; and tracts in the vernacular tongue were extensively distributed. In the same year, the cause of religion suffered a severe loss in the decease of Mr Diering, a pious layman, who devoted to the best interests of his fellow-men all the time he could spare from his worldly business. Finding it difficult to assemble the Chinese in large congregations, the missionary embraced every opportunity of addressing small audiences. In 1826, a native wrote a tract against him, which presented a curious medley of objections to his operations ; the Europeans being deemed equally worthy of condemnation for robbing other nations of their possessions, and for allowing men and women

to mix together in society, and walk arm in arm about the streets! He replied to this strange production in a series of familiar dialogues. The same year, in the course of a tour along the eastern coast of Java, he found a small body of Dutch Christians in the town of Soerabaya, who had formed themselves into a missionary society, and among other efforts for the evangelization of the heathen, had translated the New Testament into low Malay. This version, after being revised by him and the Dutch minister at Batavia, was printed at the government press in that city.

During the same journey, Mr Medhurst paid a visit to the Tenngger Mountains, a chain about 6000 feet above the level of the sea, inhabited by an aboriginal race, whose religion is a sort of Hindooism, combined with a peculiar veneration for fire. This tract was pointed out by the Governor-general, Baron Vander Capellan, as an eligible field for missions, on account of the salubrity of the climate and the simple manners which characterize the inhabitants, who are uncontaminated by foreign intercourse. It is to be regretted that this suggestion has not been carried into effect.

In 1827, the art of lithography was first employed instead of the previous mode of printing by wooden blocks, which was found very expensive. Among other works published was a system of comparative chronology, with the Chinese and European accounts exhibited in parallel columns. There is considerable similarity between the more authentic records of "the celestial empire" and the scriptural narrative. A fount of Javanese types was cast by Mr Medhurst, who underwent great labour in superintending the process. In August of the same year, he proceeded on a voyage to the eastern part of the Malay peninsula and the island of Borneo. Two years afterwards, he visited Bali in company with Mr Tomlin.

In 1831, a handsome chapel was erected at Batavia, which was opened in the month of September by the Rev. Archdeacon Scott, who preached on the occasion. "In

this building, Episcopalians, Independents, and Baptists have joined in the work of proclaiming a crucified Saviour; and Europeans and Asiatics combined in celebrating his love." Besides officiating in this edifice, Mr Medhurst on the Sabbath afternoons addressed several hundred Malay convicts, who assembled in their chains, and sat on the ground, under the shade of a few trees. One of these poor creatures on his deathbed declared his faith in Christ; and, when told by his companions that he ought to call on Mohammed, he replied, "No; Jesus is the only Saviour, and I desire to honour him alone." About the same period, Lukas Monton, a native of Celebes, was baptized. He has since shown himself to be actuated by a lively zeal for the diffusion of the gospel, exhorting the heathen to turn to the faith of Christ, and distributing tracts in great abundance both among Chinese and Malays. In succeeding years, the mission has continued to prosper, some converts being annually baptized. The principal events which have occurred of late are the discontinuance of the day-schools, which Mr Medhurst, on his return, after a short stay in England, found in a very inefficient state; and the establishment of a boarding-school, which, soon after its institution, contained twenty-three pupils, who are instructed in various branches of knowledge, but especially in religious truth. The expense of supporting each scholar is about £4 per annum. The Malay day-school has been placed under the care of Lukas Monton, who holds the situation of catechist. The Parapattan Orphan Asylum was founded for the purpose of maintaining those destitute children who, in great numbers, would otherwise perish for want. They receive at the same time the benefit of a christian education. About £1000 is annually collected for the funds of this seminary, principally by the congregation connected with the mission chapel; and its superintendence is intrusted to Mr and Mrs Fursey, who accompanied Mr Medhurst from England.*

* Medhurst's China. Report of London Missionary Society for 1840.

The last annual report represents the mission as prospering in every department. There were forty-three church-members, five schools, and 177 pupils. Books and tracts to the number of 29,386 had been distributed in the past year.

Various attempts had been made to fix a station in the Burman empire ; but the honour of effecting a permanent settlement was reserved for the American Baptist Board for Foreign Missions, instituted in 1814. The first heralds of the cross were Mr and Mrs Judson, who, after going to India as Independents, had changed their views on the subject of baptism. On their arrival at Rangoon, they took up their residence in the mission-house, erected by Mr Chatter, a Baptist from Serampore, who had removed to Ceylon, and which is situated in a pleasant spot, half a mile from the town. They hired a teacher of the language ; but, as he did not understand English, the only method which they could use was to point to various objects, the names of which the instructor pronounced in Burman. Progress, in such circumstances, was necessarily slow ; but their zeal to preach to the poor idolaters around made them cheerfully undergo every species of exertion. In October 1816, Mr and Mrs Hough arrived as associates in the work, having with them a press, types, and other printing apparatus, furnished by the liberality of Dr Carey. The language had been already acquired by the first labourers, one of whom had composed a summary of the christian religion, and the other a catechism, which now issued from the press, along with a translation of the Gospel by Matthew. The missionaries had their hopes excited by the apparent seriousness of several Burmese of both sexes who came to inquire about religion ; but these expectations were disappointed by their relapse into carelessness. In December 1817, Mr Judson sailed for Chittagong, with the view of procuring thence one of the converts made by the Baptist missionaries there as a coadjutor in his labours. He was, however, unable from contrary winds to reach his des-

tionation, and the vessel's course was changed for Madras. Stress of weather prevented him from making this port also ; and at length he debarked at a place 300 miles distant, being obliged to complete the journey by land. He was detained at Madras till the following July, when he sailed for Rangoon in an English ship.

As a proof that the want of immediate success did not cool the zeal of the labourers, we quote a letter from Mrs Judson, dated February 18, 1818. "It is now four years and a half since we took up our residence in this spiritually benighted land, and to this day do we offer our thanks to God for having brought and continued us here. To this day can we testify that God is good ; that he is a faithful covenant-keeping God, who is worthy of the entire trust and confidence of all his creatures. Never for a moment has he left us to feel that our first views of the practicability of missions were visionary ; consequently, we have been preserved from those distressing, agonizing feelings resulting from regret and disappointment in a darling object. On the contrary, we feel that missions to the heathen are not only practicable, but that the very blood of their souls will be required at the hand of those Christians who neglect to make exertions to send the gospel among them."

About the same time, Mr Hough was subjected to rough usage on the part of some satellites of the government, whose object was to extort money from him. In July, therefore, he with his wife and family sailed for Bengal ; but Mrs Judson remained, and in a few days had the satisfaction of being rejoined by her husband. In September, Messrs Colman and Wheelock arrived as a reinforcement.

Hitherto all efforts for the conversion of the natives had been made by means of private conversation or the press ; but now it was resolved to erect a small building, called a *zayat*, adjoining the mission premises, in order to preach the gospel publicly. This edifice was opened in April 1819 ; and on the first Sabbath there was an audience of no fewer than thirty, besides children. At

this place, Mr and Mrs Judson spent the day in conversing with all who came; the latter having acquired also the Siamese tongue, into which she translated the three works formerly mentioned as printed in Burman. On the 30th of April, Mounng Nan, the first convert, began to visit the zayat. Though his silence and reserve then excited but little hope, he gradually exhibited evidence of conviction and change of heart; and, on the 9th of May, he avowed himself a disciple of Christ in the presence of a considerable number of heathens. Being satisfied of his sincerity, Mr Judson resolved to admit him into the church, and thus writes in his journal of the 27th June:—"There were several strangers present at worship. After the usual course, I called Meung Nan before me, read and commented on an appropriate portion of scripture, asked him several questions concerning his faith, hope, and love, and made the baptismal prayer, having concluded to have all the preparatory exercises done in the zayat. We then proceeded to a large pond in the vicinity, the bank of which is graced with an enormous image of Gaudama, and there administered baptism to the first Burman convert." On the 4th July, the proselyte partook of the Lord's Supper with the missionaries.*

The baptism of Mounng Nan was followed on the 7th November by that of two others, Mounng Thablah and Mounng Byaa; to whom, in order to avoid public observation, the ordnance was administered in the dusk of the evening. On the following Sabbath, the three converts repaired to the zayat, and there held a prayer-meeting of their own accord.

Mr Wheelock having died, Messrs Judson and Colman were the only missionaries left at Rangoon; and as it seemed evidently impossible to proceed further in their labours without the permission of the emperor, they resolved to proceed to Ava, in order to procure it. Having obtained the sanction of the viceroy to their

* Knowles' Memoir of Mrs Judson, p. 102-152.

expedition, they embarked in a boat, and set sail up the Irrawaddy, Mounng Nan attending them as a servant. As a present to his Burman majesty, they took a copy of the Bible in six volumes, covered with gold leaf in the native style, and enclosed in costly wrappers. On the 25th of January 1820, they arrived at Amarapura, then the capital of the empire; and, through the kindness of Mya-day-men, late viceroy of Rangoon, they soon obtained an audience of the sovereign. He read their petition and asked them some questions, but refused to accept their present; and, though he gave no direct refusal, the mere circumstance that he did not grant their request was sufficient to show them the hopelessness of the case. They immediately returned to their former station; and communicated the intention of two of their number to abandon Burmah, and establish a mission in the district of Chittagong, between Bengal and Aracan, inhabited by a people who speak a language similar to the Burmese. There were in that country several converts made by Mr de Bruyn, a missionary who had recently died. Mr Colman's valuable life also soon fell a sacrifice to his unwearied zeal.

For some time previously to the voyage to the court, Mr Judson had been much interested in Mounng Shwa-guong, a learned native, who had manifested considerable desire to embrace the gospel. But a much more rapid instance of conversion occurred in the case of Mounng Shwa-ba, who, in the course of three days, from being a determined Boodhist became a sincere Christian, and was baptized on the 20th of April. Six others, among whom were Mounng Shwa-guong, and Mah Men-la, a female, were admitted into the church before the missionaries sailed for Bengal in July, on account of Mrs Judson's health. After the absence of half-a-year, they returned to the scene of their labours, and found that, though the converts had been exposed to considerable annoyance from the officers of government, they had all remained steadfast in their profession. An enemy of Mounng Shwa-guong went to the viceroy, and complained

that he was endeavouring "to turn the priests' rice-pot bottom upwards." The ruler quietly answered, "of what consequence is that! let the priests turn it back again." The reply of this Oriental Gallio quieted the apprehensions of the little flock for the present. Shwa-guong proved a valuable assistant in revising the portions of the New Testament which had been translated.

In August, Mrs Judson, who was labouring under a liver complaint, was obliged to revisit Bengal, from which she was advised to repair to England, instead of America, as she had originally intended. After experiencing great kindness from many christian friends, both in the northern and southern parts of the British island, she sailed for her native country, where she spent the winter in the bosom of her family. During her residence in the United States, she published a History of the Burman Mission, the copyright of which she presented to the Baptist General Convention. She again sailed for the East in June 1823, in company with Mr and Mrs Wade, who were appointed coadjutors in the mission. Her husband had continued to proceed with his version of the New Testament; but in August, he with Dr Price, a medical gentleman from America, left Rangoon for the capital, as the latter had been summoned thither by the emperor, who had heard of his professional skill. After their arrival, the missionary conceived a favourable anticipation of the monarch's sentiments by his expressing no displeasure when informed, in answer to his questions, that some of his subjects had embraced the christian religion. In fact, Mr Judson had various conversations on Christianity with the officers of the court, and was even permitted to deliver a short discourse, explanatory of his faith, in the presence of the monarch. But on his return to Rangoon, he found that most of the little band of converts, amounting to seventeen, had been obliged to flee from the oppression of the new viceroy. In June, the version of the New Testament was completed; and there was prefixed to it an epitome of the Old. Leaving this station, accompanied by his wife, he proceeded to

Ava, now the capital, where he built a small house on a spot of ground which the emperor had given to him the previous year, in a situation both healthy and retired. There he had worship every evening, when a number of the natives assembled; and every Sabbath he preached on the other side of the river in Dr Price's residence. Mrs Judson in the mean time commenced a female school, in which the girls were instructed in reading, sewing, and other useful branches of education.

The mission, however, was now to experience a severe shock occasioned by the war which broke out between the English and the Burmese. Rangoon was attacked by the British and taken, when the missionaries there were released from prison. Messrs Hough and Wade went forthwith to Bengal, seeing that all prospect of usefulness was for the present cut off. Mr and Mrs Wade continued the study of the language; while, at the same time, the Burman dictionary compiled by Mr Judson was carried through the press.

Meanwhile, severe sufferings fell to the lot of the missionaries in the capital. Suspicion rested on them as foreigners, though, for several weeks after the breaking out of hostilities they had continued unmolested. Some Englishmen, however, who resided at Ava being arrested, it was discovered, on examining the accounts of one of them, a merchant, that the christian teachers had received from him money to a considerable amount. Ignorant that this transaction had arisen from the circumstance of their receiving their allowances by orders on Bengal, the Burmese officers concluded that Price and Judson must be spies in the pay of the British government. They were accordingly seized in the most cruel manner, and put into what was termed the *death prison*. Their houses were searched, and many of their goods taken away; but, though deeply affected by this treatment, Mrs Judson had too much christian heroism to sink under the pressure of circumstances. For seven months, hardly a day passed in which she did not visit some of the members of government or of

the royal family, endeavouring to obtain her husband's release. Some mitigation of his restraint was procured for a time; but, on the news of a defeat which the Burmese army had sustained, that alleviation terminated. In a letter to her brother-in-law she thus writes:—"The situation of the prisoners was now distressing beyond description. It was at the commencement of the hot season; and there were about a hundred prisoners shut up in one room, without a breath of air, excepting from the cracks in the boards. I sometimes obtained permission to go to the door for five minutes, when my heart sickened at the wretchedness exhibited. The white prisoners, from incessant perspiration and loss of appetite, looked more like the dead than the living. I made daily applications to the governor, offering him money, which he refused; but all that I gained was permission for the foreigners to eat their food outside, and this continued but a short time." Mr Judson being seized with a fever, she never rested until she had permission for his removal to a little bamboo hovel in the neighbourhood, which, though so low that it was impossible to stand upright in it, was "a palace in comparison with the place he had left." One morning, she was sent for to the governor's house, and, on her return, found that all the white prisoners were taken away. With some difficulty, she learned the direction in which they had been carried, and even the exact spot of their detention, which was named Oung-pen-la. She had the misery of hearing from her husband that, on the way thither, his sufferings had been such, that he was tempted to throw himself into the river; and a Greek who was his fellow-prisoner, expired of fatigue. They, too, would probably have sunk under anxiety and lassitude, if it had not been for the kind attention of their Bengalee cook. They found some time afterwards that the foreigners had been sent to Oung-pen-la by orders of the Pakan Woon, a Burmese general, who intended to put them to death before setting out on his expedition against the English, whom he promised to

the emperor he would cut to pieces. This barbarian, however, fell into disgrace, and was executed. Not long after his death, an order arrived for the release of Mr Judson, who was to be sent to the Burman camp as translator and interpreter. After his departure, his wife was seized with the spotted fever, and, but for the timely assistance of Dr Price, who was now released from prison, would, in all probability, have lost her life. While struggling with disease, she heard that her husband had been sent back to the capital and was now in prison, and despatched Moung Ing to a powerful friend, the governor of the north gate, begging him to make an effort for his release. This functionary, at some personal hazard, succeeded, and removed him to his own house, where Mrs Judson joined him as soon as the state of her health would admit.

The rapid advances of the invading army towards the metropolis alarmed the government, who anxiously considered the best method of averting the threatened danger. Mr Judson, and two English officers who had been taken prisoners, were consulted; and it was at length resolved that he and one of the military gentlemen should be sent to the British camp, in order to negotiate. The former was very averse to such a delicate and even hazardous undertaking; and Dr Price, at his own request, was substituted in his place. At last peace was concluded; and the missionaries left Ava for the headquarters of the army, where they were received with the utmost kindness by Sir Archibald Campbell, the commander-in-chief. Not long after, they sailed for Rangoon, which they reached in safety after an absence of two years and three months. As a considerable part of Burmah had been ceded to the British, it was deemed advisable to remove the seat of the mission to Amherst, a new town founded in that district. Several of the native converts accordingly removed thither; and Mr and Mrs Judson followed shortly afterwards. But the former being requested by Mr Crawford, our commissioner, to accompany him to Ava, in order to assist in

negotiating a secondary treaty with the court, he, with the full concurrence of his wife, left the new station. He experienced great disappointment in finding it impossible to procure the insertion of an article in favour of religious toleration. But a severer affliction was the death of his lady, who expired on the 24th of October 1826 of remittent fever, after eighteen days' illness, in her thirty-seventh year. Her talents and zeal rendered her loss very great.*

About a month after this event, Mr and Mrs Wade arrived at Amherst, where they found not more than four of the converts, the rest (with the exception of the teacher, Moungh Shwa-guon, who died about the close of the war) being scattered in various parts of the country. On the 25th of February, Messrs Judson and Wade set apart Moungh Ing as a preacher of the gospel to his countrymen, but without the care of any church, or the power of administering the sacraments; this inferior degree of administration being it seems common among the American Baptists, preparatory to designation as a pastor in the full sense of the word. He set out for Tavoy, and thence proceeded to Mergui, his former residence. On the 17th April, the Rev. George Boardman and family arrived as additional labourers in the mission. About a month afterwards, the first fruits of the Amherst mission, Mah Loon-byay, was received into the church. Mr and Mrs Boardman removed to Moulmein, a town twenty-five miles further up the river Martaban, where a piece of ground for the mission was given by Sir Archibald Campbell. Being a mile from the British cantonment, it was chosen on account of the greater facility it afforded for intercourse with the natives; and soon after, their house being plundered by a party of robbers from the opposite side of the river, they received from the general a guard of sepoy. As Mr Boardman was now able to speak their language, he conversed with all who came for re-

* Life of Mrs Judson, p. 152-273.

ligious instruction, and had the great satisfaction of soon perceiving a considerable spirit of inquiry excited. Amherst becoming, from the decrease of its population, less favourable for missionary enterprise, Mr Judson, with Mr and Mrs Wade, removed to Moulmein in October. Before the close of the year, a female school was resumed and put into active operation under the joint care of Mrs Wade and Mrs Boardman. A boys' seminary was also commenced, and two *zayats* on opposite sides of the station were opened, one by Mr Judson and the other by Mr Wade. Considerable success attended these efforts to evangelize the heathen. Between January and September 1828, twenty-one individuals were baptized, including several well-instructed girls. One of the converts was Ko Myat-kyou, a man of rank, eloquence, and energy of character, and two others were physicians.

In March, Mr Boardman, with his family and some native converts, left Moulmein for Tavoy, the capital of one of the provinces ceded to the British. Although he did not without pain remove from so promising a sphere of usefulness, yet he soon found reason to believe that he had been guided to his new abode by the hand of God. He had no sooner opened the door of his house for worship than inquirers presented themselves. The first converts were Mounng Bo, a learned Burman, and Kee Keang, a Chinese youth, who, on the 3d August, were baptized in a tank under the shade of an idolatrous temple, and in sight of a number of heathen, "who," says the narrator, "gazed with mingled astonishment and malice." Mr Maingay, civil commissioner for the province of Tavoy, generously authorized the missionary to draw on him monthly for fifty Madras rupees, to maintain a boys' day-school for the English and Burman languages, and the more useful sciences. In a few days after the opening of this seminary, nineteen pupils were pursuing their studies in it. One-third of the day they were instructed in Burman, by Shway Bwen, a Siamese Christian, who had accompanied Mr Boardman from

Moulmein; and during the remainder they received lessons in English from Kee Keang, who had acquired that language before coming thither. The missionary was informed that among the Karens, a race of people in the neighbourhood, there was a conjuror who possessed a book given him by a foreigner, who charged him to worship it. This person at last came to visit him, and produced an old tattered duodecimo volume, which proved to be the Book of Common Prayer with the psalms, printed at Oxford. Mr B. said, "it is a good book, but it is not right to worship it. You must worship the God it reveals." The sorcerer being reproved by one of the native Christians for his self-importance, presented his admonisher with his wand, saying he had no further use for it, and on his way home tore his official dress in pieces and threw it into a brook.

One of the chief impediments to the progress of the mission was the peculiarity of the dialect spoken by the Tavoy people, which differed so materially from pure Burman, that many who had resided in the city ten or fifteen years confessed their inability to understand it. Another discouraging circumstance was the great wickedness which prevailed among the natives, whose superstitious zeal did not prevent them from indulging in the grossest vices. Towards the end of the year the missionary felt somewhat disheartened at the relapse into indifference of some individuals in whom he had taken a deep interest, and at the deserted appearance of the zayat, formerly well attended by the heathen.

Mr Boardman now undertook a journey into the Karen country, during which he was treated with the utmost hospitality, and preached several times to attentive audiences. After some unsuccessful efforts, his wife opened a girls' school, with twenty-one pupils, taught by a Tavoy female; and a rule was adopted, according to which the teacher's pay was to be proportioned to the progress of her scholars. These plans of usefulness were for a time interrupted, in consequence of a revolt of the natives against the British, which

was speedily quelled, but not till the insurgents had destroyed a great part of the town, including the mission-house. Mrs Boardman and family were despatched to Moulmein, whither her husband followed, nor was it till two months after the rebellion that he was enabled to resume his labours. Undertaking several tours for village-preaching, in addition to his stated labours at the zayat, he was generally received with respect, and sometimes with gladness. In June 1830, he writes to the corresponding secretary of the Baptist Convention, that the native church consisted of ten members, besides as many candidates for admission. At the end of the year the number baptized amounted to thirty-one.

The success which had attended the Burman mission encouraged the Board to send out the Rev. Francis Mason and his wife as assistants at Tavoy, which place they reached in January 1831. On their arrival, however, they found Mr Boardman evidently near death. His disease was consumption, and he knew that there was no hope of recovery; yet he was anxious to labour to the last, and though unable to walk, was carried on a cot-bed to a zayat, at some distance from the town among the Karen mountains, built for him by the inhabitants. The roof was so low that it was impossible to stand upright, and its insufficient enclosure exposed him to the rays of the sun by day, and the cold winds and damp fog by night. But his mind was at peace with God, and he did not feel discomposed by temporal inconveniences. Here he had the pleasure of witnessing the baptism of thirty-four Karens by Mr Mason, and on the same evening he delivered a short but affecting address to about fifty disciples, who gathered round his cot. Having fulfilled his promise to the natives of coming to see them, he was removed from the zayat, but died in the boat on his voyage to Tavoy. This melancholy event took place on the 11th of February 1831, three days after he had completed his thirtieth year.*

* Life of Mrs Judson. King's Life of Boardman.

Since the death of Mr Boardman the mission to Burmah has continued to flourish. Additional missionaries, with printers and presses, have been sent out, and vast numbers of tracts have been dispersed throughout the country. A great spirit of inquiry has been excited, and, in the course of twelve months, upwards of a hundred natives were added to the church. A year or two ago, the converts amounted to between four and five hundred. Several of these disciples have become exceedingly useful, either as ordained preachers, or as schoolmasters and distributors of tracts. The missionaries speak in very favourable terms of their prospects of success.

Before leaving Asia, we may advert to the attempts made to evangelize the heathen in the Russian dominions. The first of these was undertaken by the church of the United Brethren,—a communion of which it may well be said, that no other has more faithfully obeyed the Redeemer's parting command to his disciples, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." To the Moravian missionaries may be peculiarly applied the words of their own poet :—

" I sing the men who left their home,
Amidst barbarian hordes to roam,
Who land and ocean cross'd,
Led by a loadstar mark'd on high
By Faith's unseen, all-seeing eye,—
To seek and save the lost ;
Where'er the curse of Adam spread,
To call his offspring from the dead.

" Strong in the great Redeemer's name,
They loved the cross, despised the shame,
And, like their Master here,
Wrestled with danger, pain, distress,
Hunger, and cold, and nakedness,
And every form of fear ;
To feel his love their only joy,
To tell that love their sole employ."

The Empress Catherine II. issued, in 1764, an edict in favour of the Moravians, and at the same time intimated her wish that they should form a settlement on

the banks of the Wolga. Accordingly, in the following year five brethren went from Germany to a place on that river, near Czarizin, about 2000 miles from Petersburg, which they called Sarepta. Several companies followed at intervals. The fertility of the soil, and the discovery of a mineral spring, contributed to the temporal prosperity of the settlement.

The brethren, immediately on their arrival, began to take measures for cultivating a friendly intercourse with the Calmucks in their neighbourhood. These migratory hordes, who were avowed polytheists, expressed pleasure at the formation of the settlement, and frequently attended divine service with marks of respect. If any damage was caused by them to the brethren, their khans interfered, and ordered full requital to be made. The Moravian physician happened to cure a prince of the Deabet tribe, and this individual invited two of the missionaries to accompany his clan in their wanderings; promising them every aid for the acquisition of the language. They were treated with the utmost kindness by every class, not excepting the priests; but as no spiritual benefit seemed to accrue from this mode of life, they relinquished it, and confined their efforts to those who resided near Sarepta. For several years, however, all their labours appeared in vain; the barbarians listened with external attention, but whatever impression was made soon disappeared. The first fruit of their toils was a blind girl who had been given to them, and brought up at the station; she, after affording pleasing evidence of a renewed heart, was baptized in January 1781. A few years subsequently she died, with an humble reliance on the atonement of Christ as her ground of acceptance with God.

Having found no success among the adults, the brethren turned their attention to the children. In 1801, a chief sent his son, Makush, to Sarepta, in order to learn the German language, and he was soon followed by several others. In 1808, the missionaries ransomed four girls of the Kirgese nation, between eleven and twelve

years of age, and brought them to the settlement. In less than two years they were deemed fit subjects for baptism. In 1812, the Gospel of Matthew was printed in the Calmuck tongue, and considerable demand arose for copies of it.

A few years afterwards, the mission was abandoned for want of success, and has not yet been resumed.*

In 1796 was formed the Edinburgh, or, as it has been since denominated, the Scottish Missionary Society. After an unsuccessful attempt to establish a mission in Western Africa, the directors sent Messrs Henry Brunton and Alexander Paterson on an exploratory expedition to the extensive countries lying between the Euxine and the Caspian. Having obtained permission from the Russians, they took up their residence in the village of Karass, which is situated at about an equal distance from the two seas now mentioned. Here they obtained a grant of land from the government, by whom they appear to have been considered as colonists not less than as missionaries. At an early period, the brethren, whose number had been considerably increased by fresh arrivals, began to ransom some of the Tartars who were in a state of slavery, particularly young persons, in order to bring them up in the christian faith. Several of these professed to embrace the gospel, and were baptized. Among the converts there was a man of rank, Katte Chery, a son of one of the chiefs of the country. He was a person of good talents and engaging manners; and, when he had openly embraced the truth, he boldly defended it, even against the most learned of the Mohammedans.

One of the principal benefits resulting from the mission was the translation of the New Testament into Tartar-Turkish, which is understood over an extensive tract of country. This was accomplished by Mr Brunton, who derived essential assistance from a similar version, executed by Doctor Lazarus Seaman, an eminent puritan

* Holmes' Missions of the United Brethren, p. 420-436.

divine, about the middle of the seventeenth century. The translator died in March 1813, soon after he had finished his work, which was printed in the same year. In June 1815, Messrs Dickson and Mitchell left Karass for Astrachan, with the intention of commencing missionary labours in that city. They hoped to find this place a suitable position for the establishment of their printing-press, and likewise a central point for the circulation of the works they might have to issue. One or two other stations were formed, and, for several years, the mission was prosecuted ; but it was at last relinquished, on account of an order proceeding from the Russian emperor that all converts should become members of the Greek church. The most interesting case was that of a young man named Mohammed Ali Beg, of whom an account has been published at considerable length.*

* Brown's History of Missions, vol. ii. p. 510-532.

CHAPTER IX.

Missions to Africa.

Missions to South Africa—Moravian Church—Schmidt—Mission interrupted—Renewed—Gnadenthal—Other Stations—London Missionary Society—Vanderkemp—Dr Philip—Mr Moffat—Wesleyan Missions—Church Missionary Society's Efforts in Western Africa.

SOME pious persons in Amsterdam having applied to the Brethren's Church to send a missionary to the Cape of Good Hope, in order to instruct the Hottentots in the true religion, George Schmidt, a man of great zeal and courage, was found willing to undertake this service. He arrived at Cape Town in July 1737, and fixed his residence at a desert place on Sergeant's River. Assembling a number of natives, he began a school, which soon had nearly fifty children in it; and the blessing of God so rested on his labours, that some of his hearers were led to a saving knowledge of the gospel. One of these, whose name was William, was asked by him how he felt towards the Saviour, and replied,—“If all my countrymen were to forsake him, yet I would not go away; for with him is life! I know that I am not yet what I ought to be; but I will nevertheless abide with Jesus, and will not cease praying to him till I experience the full power of his precious blood to change my heart.” In the sequel, this man became a very useful assistant to the Moravians. Several others were baptized; and the mission appeared likely to be very prosperous, when circumstances required Schmidt to return to Europe in

1743. The enemies of religious instruction, both in the mother-country and the colony, exerted themselves to prevent his return ; and their unhallowed efforts were but too successful. The church of Holland, untrue to her Lord, placed herself in an attitude of resistance to the missionary cause, which was not overcome by the zealous representations of a faithful few within her pale. The brethren's congregation was the more afflicted by these untoward events, as intelligence was received of the anxiety with which the Hottentots looked for the return of their beloved pastor. These poor people used the only public means of grace within their reach, by meeting together to edify one another by the word of God. This season of darkness was nevertheless to be followed by a period of light. The words of the poet were applicable here :—

“ — for a season Satan may prevail,
 And hold, as if secure, his dark domain ;
 The prayers of righteous men may seem to fail,
 And Heaven's glad tidings be proclaim'd in vain.
 But wait in faith : ere long shall spring again
 The seed that seem'd to perish in the ground ;
 And, fertilized by Zion's latter rain,
 The long-parch'd land shall laugh, with harvest crown'd,
 And through those silent wastes Jehovah's praise resound.”

At length, almost half a century after Schmidt's attempt, three brethren, Marsveld, Schwinn, and Kichnel, being allowed to sail for the Cape, arrived in the colony towards the end of November 1792. The place pointed out to them as most eligible for a settlement was Bavian's Kloof (baboon's glen), about 120 miles eastward of Cape Town ; being the very spot where Schmidt had resided. They found a part of the wall of his house still standing, and likewise several fruit-trees planted by him in his garden, among which they particularly noticed a large pear-tree, under whose shade they held their meetings for worship until their new dwelling was completed. Among the inhabitants who came to visit them was a woman named Helena, who had been baptized by him, and showed them a Dutch New Testa-

ment which he had given to her. She spent her latter years in peace at the Moravian station, and, amidst many bodily sufferings, maintained the character of a true child of God. She declared to all who visited her that she trusted only in the Saviour, and ardently desired to depart and be with him. She died in January 1800, having, it was thought, attained the age of nearly a hundred years.

The brethren opened a school shortly after their arrival; and in it both adults and children received instruction. They attended very regularly, and showed great eagerness to learn. In the first year, seven Hottentots were baptized; who, it was lamented, had to sustain much unreasonable opposition from the Dutch colonists, and even from some of the officials at Cape Town. One of them, finding that his master wished to prevent his going to Bavian's Kloof, addressed him thus, "If you will answer for my soul, then I will stay." The conscience of the former was touched, and he replied, "I cannot answer for my own soul, much less for that of another;" and then granted full permission.

In June 1795, the missionaries, receiving intelligence that a band of rebels called Nationals were coming to attack the station, deemed it necessary to retire to Cape Town. Their catechumens were greatly distressed at this step, and exclaimed, "We are the cause of all the misfortunes which befall them, for we have not been sufficiently thankful and obedient; and therefore God takes our teachers from us. O God, forgive us this sin!" The rebel chief, Pissani, who caused this evil, is reported to have said, "These people preach sound doctrine, and teach the Hottentots the right way of salvation; but, as I am the devil's servant, and cannot be saved, I will do all in my power to prevent them from going to heaven." As an instance of the power attending the teaching of the brethren, we may quote the case of a man who called upon them, in great concern for his soul, and said, "I have hated you and despised your doctrine, and

often felt disposed to curse you and run out of the chapel. I was particularly provoked at your doctrine, that whoever did not apply to the Lord Jesus, as in themselves helpless and perishing sinners, relying on Him alone for salvation, were in danger of being eternally lost ; and that self-righteousness was a detestable sin in the sight of God." A rousing sermon awoke him from his slumber of carnal security, and he said, "I am lost for ever ! I shall go down to hell !"

Tranquillity having been restored by the taking of the colony by the British, the missionaries were sent back to their station ; and, after a time, the opposition to them subsided. In 1799, there was built a large church, capable of holding 1500 persons. At that period there were 1234 inhabitants in Bavian's Kloof, of whom 304 were members of the congregation, whose temporal condition was greatly improved. Induced by the example of the brethren, they diligently cultivated their fields and gardens. In 1800, a body of missionaries arriving, they were received about a mile from the village by the natives, who joined in hymns of praise to God who had thus graciously supplied their spiritual wants. In July of the same year, an epidemical disease attacked the natives, and raged for a whole twelvemonth, carrying off about sixty of the congregation. One of the brethren thus wrote concerning this affliction :—"When we discoursed with them on the love of Jesus, and set before them the comforts of the gospel, we saw them listen with eagerness to our address, forget all their external wretchedness, and patiently resign themselves to the will of the Lord, declaring their confident hope that he would in mercy receive them into his everlasting kingdom, and extolling his goodness in sending teachers to them to instruct them in the knowledge of their Redeemer and of salvation through his blood." While the converts bore affliction with patience, and grew in the exercise of the christian virtues, many others came from a distance to be instructed in religion. One woman thus expressed herself :—"I am come, because I know that

Bavian's Kleof is an asylum for poor distressed sinners: such a sinner I am. I have long lived in sin, and done much evil; and, among the farmers with whom I have been in service, I have seen and heard nothing else; but now I am tired of the service of sin, and seek rest for my soul."

In a year or two the colony was restored to the Dutch, and General Jansen, the new governor, desired that the name of the station might be changed from Bavian's Kloof to Gnadenthal (Gracewale), a much more appropriate designation in its altered circumstances. A corps of Hottentots having been raised, Mr Kohrhammer, at the request of government, became their chaplain, and was highly gratified by their good conduct. In the following year, he had to perform the painful duty of attending in prison three deserters, who had been condemned to death by a court-martial. It is stated that these unfortunate men were at first quite insensible to their state, but, in the course of a few hours' instruction, are said to have become the subjects of a saving change. We do not deny that this change was possible; but we greatly doubt its probability in the actual circumstances. We cannot go the length of those who would assert that conversion never takes place in the last hours of life; but we believe that, at the great day, when the number of God's elect shall be finally made up, it will be seen that a very small proportion of them have been effectually called in the near prospect of eternity. The thief upon the cross, there is reason to conclude, has given welcome in heaven to few converts like himself.

In 1806, the colony surrendered to the British; and Sir David Baird and the Earl of Caledon, who were successively governors, showed great kindness to the brethren. The latter, in 1808, gave them a piece of land called Groenekloof, lying near the sea, on the high road from Cape Town to Saldanha Bay. It was first occupied by Messrs Kohrhammer and Schmitt, and soon became a flourishing station. In the same year died

Jacob Adams, the oldest inhabitant of Gnadenthal, who was supposed to be about a century old. In allusion to his case, the brethren remarked, "we have had in him an incontrovertible proof that the Holy Spirit instructs God's children in all the essential truths revealed in his sacred word, in the most distinct and powerful manner, though the ordinary means may be very deficient ; for he had never learned Dutch, and all his conversations with us were through an interpreter."

A large and commodious school-house was erected at Gnadenthal in 1814, chiefly through the praiseworthy exertions of the Rev. Robert Jones, colonial chaplain, who, on a visit to the settlement, was grieved to find that the missionaries, for want of another building, had hitherto given their pupils instruction in the church. The evidence of piety in the young people was sometimes remarkably pleasing. A girl nine years old, being asked how she passed the time with her younger sister, replied, "We often pray our Saviour to make us his children, and to keep us from growing up as children of the devil. Then we sing verses together, which we learn at school. Sometimes we help old mother Lydia to work, and she gives us a piece of bread for our labour, for our parents are at the Cape ; and when they are at home, we have to dig for roots in the fields to satisfy our hunger, for they are very poor, and have nothing to give us."*

In 1815, the Rev. C. J. Latrobe, secretary to the Brethren's Society in England, was sent on a visit of inspection to Africa, to ascertain the practicability of erecting a third station. This was accordingly established in the district of the Witte River, on the confines of Caffraria, at the distance of a fortnight's journey from Gnadenthal. To it the name of Enon was given. In 1817, the Rev. H. P. Hallbeck, with some other missionaries, sailed for the Cape, when that excellent man began his professional service, which extended to upwards

* Holmes' History of Moravian Missions, p. 371-419.

of twenty years. He was the most distinguished labourer in that field, being a person of good talents, considerable attainments, fervent piety, and unwearied activity. During a visit which he paid to this country a few years ago, he became well known, and highly esteemed among British Christians. He had been consecrated a bishop of the Moravian church some years before his death, which occurred in November 1840.

These settlements in South Africa have frequently been visited by travellers, who have highly extolled the neatness, order, and comfort, which reigned in them all. As it may be interesting to some of our readers to know the way in which the brethren spend their time in their stations, we quote the words of Mr Pringle, in reference to Enon :—" At six o'clock in the morning, the missionaries and their families are summoned together by the ringing of a large bell suspended in front of the mission-house. The matin hymn is then sung, and a text of scripture read, for all to meditate upon during the day ; and after drinking a single cup of coffee, they separate to pursue their respective occupations. At eight o'clock, the bell re-assembles them to a substantial breakfast, consisting of fish, fruit, eggs, and cold meat ; each person commonly drinking a single glass of wine. This meal, as well as the others, is preceded and followed by a short hymn, by way of grace, in which all the company join. As soon as breakfast is over, they retire to their separate apartments for meditation or devotion, till nine o'clock, when the active labours of the day are again resumed, and continued till noon. At twelve o'clock precisely, the bell is again rung, labour is interrupted ; the school is dismissed ; and the brethren and their families assemble in the dining-hall to the mid-day meal. The dishes are sometimes numerous (especially, I presume, when they have visitors), but the greater part consist of fruits and vegetables of their own cultivation, variously dressed. The meal is enlivened with cheerful conversation, and is closed with the customary

hymn of thanksgiving. All then rise and retire, to occupy or amuse themselves as each may be inclined. At two o'clock, a cup of tea or coffee is drank, and all proceed again with alacrity to their various occupations, which are prosecuted till six. This latter hour concludes the labours of the day; the sound of the hammer is stilled, and the brethren assemble once more at the evening meal, which consists of light viands, and is soon over. After supper they adjourn to the church, where a portion of scripture is briefly explained, or a homily delivered, either to the whole Hottentot congregation or to one of the several sections in which the people are classed, agreeably to the progress they may have attained in knowledge and piety. All then retire to rest, with an appearance of cheerful satisfaction, such as may be naturally imagined to result from the habitual practice of industry and temperance, unimbittered by worldly cares, and hallowed by the consciousness of having devoted their mental and bodily faculties to the glory of God and the good of men." The traveller also thus mentions the churchyard at the same settlement:—"Situate at some little distance from the village, yet not far from the house of worship, and kept as neat as a pleasure-garden, the burial-ground of Enon formed a pleasing contrast to the solitary graves, heaped with a few loose stones, or the neglected and dilapidated churchyards usually met with in the colony. The funeral service, too, of the Moravians is very solemn and impressive. And still more solemn must be the yearly celebration of their service on Easter morn, when the whole population of the settlement is congregated in the burial-ground, to listen to an appropriate discourse from the most venerable of their pastors, accompanied by an affecting commemoration of such of their friends and relatives as may have died within the year, and followed by hymns and anthems, sung by their united voices amidst the ashes of their kindred."*

* Pringle's African Sketches, p. 211-213. We the rather quote this author, as his unaffected piety exempts him from

At the end of 1840, the United Brethren had in South Africa seven stations, forty-five missionaries, and 4739 converts belonging to the Hottentot, Caffre, Tambookie, and Fingoo tribes, of whom about 1300 were communicants. The most recent accounts speak of their establishments as being generally in a flourishing condition.

The London Missionary Society early directed its attention to the same part of the world. In December 1798, the Rev. Doctor Vanderkemp, with J. J. Kicherer, William Edwards, and James Edmonds, sailed for the Cape; and on their arrival were very kindly received by General Dundas, lieutenant-governor of the colony. It was originally designed that all the brethren should labour together; but it was afterwards agreed that while Vanderkemp and Edwards should proceed to Caffraria, the other two should settle among the Bushmen. In May 1799, the former left Cape Town for the scene of their exertions; and on their journey they were well treated by the colonists, who embraced every opportunity of hearing them preach. Having reached the borders of Caffraria, they sent an embassy to Geika, the king of the country, who invited them to settle in his territories. But when they arrived at his residence, and explained their object to him, he informed them that they had come at an unfortunate period; for disturbances had broken out between the stations and some of his people, which might expose them to danger.

the imputation alluded to by Dr Chalmers in his remarks on anti-evangelical admirers of the civilisation introduced by the brethren:—"Many there are who nauseate the peculiar evangelism which lies at the root of this great moral and spiritual change yet are forced to admire the beauteous efflorescence which proceeds from it,—just as there are many who can eye with delight the graces of a cultivated landscape, yet have no taste for the operations of the husbandry which called it into being. Certain it is, that Moravians have become the objects of a popular and sentimental admiration among men who could not tolerate the methodistical flavour, as they may term it, of a Moravian Report."—Chalmers' Works, vol. iv. p. 208. An interesting account of a visit to Gnadenthal will be found in the Memoirs of Mrs Wilson of Bombay.

It soon appeared that the king's mind had been prejudiced against their cause ; and it was some time before his suspicions were so far allayed as to grant them lands on the side of the river Keiskamma, with liberty to remain or leave the country as they pleased. This situation was a very pleasant one ; but not many months elapsed before Dr Vanderkemp (who had been left by his colleague) was ordered to quit it, and remove to the river Debe. After moving about from place to place, he at last arrived at Graaf Reinet, where, to his great joy, he found two other labourers, Mr James Read, and a Dutchman named Vanderlingen. It was agreed that while the latter acted as chaplain to the colonists, the two former should devote themselves to the spiritual welfare of the natives. But this was so opposed to the prejudices of the Dutch, that a band of them attacked the village, and were only repulsed by the firmness of the authorities.

In February 1802, the missionaries left Graaf Reinet, and repaired to Bota's Place, in the neighbourhood of Algoa Bay, where General Dundas had assigned them a settlement. Here likewise the opposition of the colonists was renewed, who represented them as being in league with the plundering Caffres and Hottentots, and, consequently, inimical to the Europeans. The governor, immediately before sailing for England, as the country was now restored to the Dutch, paid them a visit, and made them considerable presents. Various attacks were soon after made by the natives upon their station, with more or less success in the way of plunder ; for which reason, they removed to Fort Frederick, about seven miles distant. Here they suffered much from the boors, who took every opportunity to annoy them, and corrupt the people who had placed themselves under their instruction. They even murdered two individuals connected with the mission. Governor Jansens visited the place in 1803, and expressed himself satisfied with the scheme of the brethren, to whom he gave a tract of land about ten miles in circumference,

situated seven miles to the northward of their present abode. At this place, which they called Bethelsdorp, or the village of Bethel, they laboured with unwearied zeal and some success.

In April 1805, Vanderkemp and Read received orders from the governor to repair to Cape Town without delay, in order to answer to the accusations brought by the boers against them. Providentially, Mr Ulbright, a new missionary, with one or two other assistants, had arrived at Bethelsdorp, so that the inhabitants were not left altogether destitute of instruction. Before leaving the village, the doctor, in an address to his people, referred to the words of David when driven from his capital by the rebellion of his son, "If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again and show me both it and his holy habitation : but if he say, I have no delight in thee, behold, here am I, let him do to me as seemeth good unto him." They were detained several months at the Cape, and had now no prospect but that of being soon sent out of the country. In the beginning of the following year, however, the British became masters of the colony ; and Sir David Baird, the commander of the victorious army, restored the brethren to their station, after treating them with the greatest politeness. Not long after their return, the senior missionary twice narrowly escaped with his life ; first from the fall of a heavy frame of wood, and next from the attack of an infuriated ox. The brethren had to suffer much from the disorderly conduct of the children attending their school, and the carelessness, worldliness, and flagrant transgressions chargeable upon several adults, even among those whom they had considered eminent for piety.

Undeterred, however, by these afflictive circumstances, they continued their "work of faith and labour of love." For several years, they pursued their course in harmony ; and Dr Vanderkemp, conceiving that the mission no longer needed his presence, resolved to change the scene of his labours, and fixed on the island

Madagascar as a fit place for evangelisation. His health, however, had been on the decline; and hence he dreaded the effect of his projected expedition. For some time in great perplexity with regard to his line of duty; and his colleague remarked, that he never known him to be in such a state of uncertainty and distress. In December 1811, he died, after eight days' illness, in the sixty-fourth year of his age and the thirteenth of his missionary labours. He was a man of genuine piety, but is charged with no small measure of enthusiasm, and what the apostle called "a stately humility." His conduct was in several respects heroic, and, to some extent, opposed the effect of his example, which was in general praiseworthy.*

In March 1813, the Rev. John Campbell of Kingsburgh arrived at Bethelsdorp, having been deputed by the society to visit their settlements in South Africa, and to consider the best localities for new ones. In October 1814, a remarkable revival of religion took place, and great numbers were added to the church. Mr Read and his fellow-labourers had scarcely time to take food; and often the fields might be seen covered with a people, pouring out their hearts to God in prayer. Old and young were alike subjects of this gracious influence; and, in the course of a year, upwards of 300 souls were added to the church. The missionaries not only paid attention to the spiritual wants of the people, but also instructed them how they might best provide for their temporal necessities. Though the ground in the immediate vicinity of the settlement was extremely

barren, the fields at some distance were cultivated for upwards of 10 miles; an extent of arable land rarely met with in South Africa. Various branches of industry were pursued with considerable success.

The camp was occupied as we have related, and Mr Read and Edwards proceeded to Zak River, about 400 or 500 miles to the north-

east of Cape Town. The place of their settlement, which was called by them Happy Prospect Fountain, was in the country of the Bushmen, who speedily came in considerable numbers to be instructed. The missionaries first laboured to convince the understandings of these poor people; but, upon finding that they were very prone to raise objections of a kind which it was not easy to meet, they had recourse to that method which has been generally found most effectual in rousing the heathen to seriousness. They expatiated on the amazing love of Christ to perishing sinners,—that love “which many waters could not quench, and which the floods could not drown;” and besought their auditors to come to the Redeemer, that they might find peace for their souls. Kicherer was likewise about this period much impressed with the necessity of prayer, and was enabled to wrestle with God in earnest supplication. He shortly after journeyed to Cape Town, in order to obtain supplies for his people, and particularly clothes; taking with him some Bushmen, who were much struck by what they saw. After his return to Zak River, he received an invitation to be minister at the Pearl, a village near Cape Town. He was for a while perplexed what to do; but, adopting the best course,—that of prayer to God for direction,—he found it to be his duty to continue where he was. From that very time the Lord vouchsafed to bless his labours in a remarkable manner.

In May 1801, the whole congregation removed to the Orange River, in consequence of an invitation which the missionaries had received from the Corannas to come and preach the gospel among them. Here they found that the people manifested a desire to learn the things which belonged to their eternal peace. There was even good reason to hope that there were several persons really converted. Mr Kicherer, when sitting by himself on an eminence, had often the pleasure of observing some of his people engaged in secret prayer behind a rock or under a tree.

Finding that the land was not sufficiently fertile for

the support of their numerous cattle, in March 1802, he with Mr Schultz removed to their former quarters, with part of the people, while their brethren, Anderson and Kramer, remained. In the following year, Kicherer visited England, accompanied by three converted Hottentots, John, Mary, and Martha, who, by the consistency of their christian deportment and the propriety of their religious views, afforded much pleasure to many pious friends of the society. In October 1804, the missionary, with his interesting companions and several additional labourers, sailed for South Africa. Upon landing he had the mortification to find that the Zak River colony suffered much from the continuance of drought, the barrenness of the soil, and the incursions of the Bushmen. Many of the congregation had already gone to another part of the country ; and those who remained followed him to Graaf Reinet, of which Sir David Baird appointed him minister.

In March 1801, Mr William Anderson, who had lately arrived at the Zak, set off for the Orange River, to make known the gospel in that part of the province. After encountering many difficulties, he succeeded in forming the settlement of Griqua Town, connected with which there were a number of smaller stations at no great distance ; and in all he introduced a knowledge of agriculture, and established a regular subordination. In 1813, Mr Campbell visited the mission, and succeeded in inducing the people to accept a code of laws which he had drawn up, and which proportioned the extent of punishment to the nature of every particular offence. Nine persons were to form a court at the town ; and one was to act as judge at each of the two largest outposts, whose jurisdiction was to extend only to minor cases. The number of Griquas and Corannas then living near the station amounted to 2607 ; but there were only twenty-six men and sixteen women members of the church. An awakening took place soon after, and a considerable number were baptized ; but, unfortunately, several of these became backsliders.

In October 1804, Messrs Christian and Abraham Albrecht, with Mr John Sydenfaden, from the Netherlands Missionary Society, sailed from Holland for South Africa, and settled in Namaqua Land. Here they soon had a considerable number of the natives under their care. The temporal condition of the people was much improved; and it is to be hoped that not a few were really converted. In consequence of the hostility of Africaner, a powerful chief, the missionaries were obliged to leave their station of Warm Bath, cross the Orange River, and take up their residence at Pella, three days' journey nearer the colony. At the time of Mr Campbell's visit, there were about 650 persons connected with the station, but only nineteen communicants. A few years afterwards the mission at this place was abandoned.

In February 1815, Messrs John Evans, Robert Hamilton, Joseph Williams, and G. Barker sailed from England, in consequence of Mr Campbell's representation that Lattakoo was a proper station for missionary labours. After making two unsuccessful attempts to settle at that town, they found the king resolutely opposed to the religious instruction of his people; but, at length, his opposition was mitigated on learning that various articles would be sent for the use of himself and his subjects. At a new town, therefore, to which the name of the former capital was given, from which it was about three days' journey, they built a commodious place of worship, capable of holding 400 persons, and a long row of houses provided with excellent gardens. The brethren, with the assistance of the Hottentots attached to their service, dug a canal three miles long, by which the whole water of the Krooman could be brought into their extensive fields. But they found the bigoted adherence of the natives to their ancient customs a most powerful barrier in the way both of their civilisation and conversion to Christianity.*

* Brown's History of Missions. Campbell's Travels in South Africa.

The most remarkable instance of conversion among the South African nations is that of Africaner, the chief whom we have just mentioned. A letter which Mr Campbell addressed to him was the means of turning his attention to the gospel. It contained the offer of a missionary to his people, if he chose to receive one; and he accordingly sent to Pella, whence he obtained Mr Ebner, who immediately commenced his sacred duties. He laboured there two years; and his host, with several of his tribe, was converted. Mr Moffat, who then went to reside among them, was very useful in building up the infant church, and adding to its numbers. From the time that Christianity took root in the kraal, its inhabitants ceased to disturb their neighbours, as they had previously done. Africaner visited the Cape in 1818, in company with a teacher, where he attracted great attention by the mildness of his demeanour and his accurate knowledge of the Bible. "His New Testament was a cheering object of attention, it was so completely thumbed and worn by use." He gave the following answer to a question put to him at a religious meeting:—"When I saw my duty, I fancied I could perform it. I knew I had served the devil with all my heart, and I thought I had only to change masters, and that I could serve God as perfectly as I had served the devil; but I soon found that I was mistaken. I set to work; but, when I made the experiment, I discovered for the first time that my heart was full of enmity against God. I tried to change my own heart; but it grew worse and worse; and, in my despair, I came to Christ, pleaded his promises, and obtained relief." For some years after his return home, he continued to impart religious instruction to his tribe; but he was seized with a fatal illness, and, finding his end approaching, he, like Joshua, called his people about him, and gave them directions respecting their future conduct. He thus concluded:—"My former life is stained with blood; but Jesus Christ has pardoned me, and I am going to heaven. O! beware of falling into the same evils into which I have

frequently led you ; but seek G6d, and he will be found of you to direct you." After his conversion, he had not merely promoted to the utmost the cause of religion among his own people, but also among the different tribes of Namaquas, with whom he had considerable influence.*

The following stanzas were composed by the Rev. William Swan in reference to the character of this chief :—

" There was a man whose very name once shed
The dews of death on every heart around ;
With nightly draughts of reeking blood he fed .
His glutton idol, MURDER. His soul found
Its solace in the wild distracted sound
Of parents shrieking for their children slain,
Of children wailing when the moisten'd ground
The blood of parents did with crimson stain ;
Destruction his delight, his pastime to give pain.

" But now he cultivates his peaceful vale !
Around him youth and age in safety sleep,
And hail him with a smile ! This is no tale
Drawn from the records monkish craft did keep ;
For 'twas but yesterday the yesty deep
Conveyed the news that Africaner, now
Another man, doth pray, and love, and weep !
His heart is tamed, a calm sits on his brow,—
The lion is a lamb ! Go, sceptic, ask him, how.

" He heard the tidings Mercy sent from heaven ;
He heard, and, melted by the Saviour's love,
Cried, " May a murderer be yet forgiven !
Save me, O Jesus, save !"—while, like a dove,
Descending on the prostrate from above
The Spirit came : contrition's waters flow ;
He reads the page of truth ; his fears remove ;
His faith and love with fairest blossoms blow ;
Repentance bears her fruits, and bands her branches low."

Some years ago, one or two of the stations suffered greatly from the inroads of the Caffres, between whom and the government of the Cape war had broken out. At Kat River, for example, 12,000 head of cattle and many horses were carried off ; and twenty lives, including some members of the church, were lost in

* Campbell's *Life of Africaner*.

defence of the place. Nearly all the cows, sheep, and goats which had not been taken away perished from famine and disease; and the authorities were obliged to supply the people (to the number of 4000) with daily rations. Mr Read and his family were constrained to leave the station and proceed to Graham's Town. Other branches of the mission also suffered from the absence of their pastors, and the draining away of the more able-bodied among their members to recruit the British forces, where some of them yielded to the temptations of a military life.

About twenty years since, the Rev. Dr John Philip was appointed superintendent of the South African mission, to which he has rendered the most essential benefit. About six years ago, he, with Jan Tzatzoe and Andries Stoffles, two converts, the one a Caffre chief and the other a Hottentot, were examined before a committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the origin of the disputes between the colonists and the aborigines. The answers of Tzatzoe were peculiarly intelligent; and both of them excited great interest during their stay in Britain. Stoffles died in March 1837, at Green Point, near Cape Town, on his way home to his wife and family, who anxiously awaited his return. His end was thoroughly in unison with that christian character which he had established by several years of piety.

The most interesting result of evangelistic labour lately exhibited by the mission we are now examining, is that afforded by the exertions of the Rev. Robert Moffat, who went out in 1818 to toil among the Bechuanas. That people knew nothing of a written language: it was indeed a thing so incomprehensible to them, that when they saw the purposes effected by it, they thought them little less than miraculous. Nor did he on any occasion shrink from the most intimate intercourse with this degraded tribe; on the contrary, "he endured privations, and familiarized himself with scenes, to which nothing could reconcile the mind of an Englishman

and a Christian has the love of truth and the love of
(2. cont.)

The Lord has been pleased to bless the spiritual and self-denying labours of his servants with distinguished success. The Buchanan language has been reduced to a written and regular form: the New Testament and the Psalms have been translated into it, and were in 1844 brought by him to England, in order to be printed under his superintendence, by the British and Foreign Bible Society. According to the most recent accounts Messrs Hamilton and Edwards, the brethren at Lakoo, have a congregation of 200 church-members under their care. "Among them, as a body," they observe, "a peace and union appear to dwell; and we hope they are growing in grace and knowledge, but we should be happy to see them manifesting more spiritual life, and keeping more separate from the world." They add, "of late years, owing to the cessation of caravans, the people have begun to wander more about the country, and to reside at a greater distance from their cattle will increase more abundantly, and not a few are influenced by a desire to escape from the effects of the gospel, which they dread, as being fatal to their carnal mind to God,—its showing the enmity of the of salvation,—and a wish to shut out from their minds the dreadful prospects of the impenitent."

As a specimen of the education given to the native children in the mission schools, we may insert the following account of an examination at the Kat River settlement:—"On Tuesday morning the children all assembled together, each school under its own respective banners, and walked in procession before the chapel. The sight was pleasing, especially when the children were seated in the chapel; every face wore a smile. They seemed to have confidence in the result of their examination, and the feeling was not without a just cause, for it was found that they had made considerable

movement since the last year. They read English and Dutch very well; they had made progress in reading, arithmetic, and grammar; some had acquired considerable knowledge of English history and geography; some had learned the use of the globes; others had committed to memory the Assembly's Shorter Catechism; and all could repeat considerable portions of Scripture. Several recited selected pieces of English poetry.

The London Missionary Society have now in the colony seventeen stations, with twenty-three missionaries, and six schoolmasters. At thirteen of the settlements the whole number of communicants is 1422. The children reported as being under instruction are not fewer than 4248; but from some stations there is no return. It would appear that Kat River is the most flourishing spot, for there are 500 adults and considerably upwards of 1000 children attending school. There are ten stations beyond the colony, with fifteen missionaries, and two native assistants, Jan Tzatzoe and an Hottentot. The most successful of these settlements is Griqua Town, which, with two outposts, has 105 communicants, and 800 scholars. "All the members," we are informed, "continue to walk worthy of the gospel, and some of them are rendering extensive and important service to the cause of God."*

The Wesleyan Methodists have also sent labourers into the vineyard of South Africa. The first attempts made by them to propagate Christianity among the natives of that part of the world appear to have taken place in 1823, when the station of Wesleyville was founded. In October 1825, the Rev. Stephen Kay established a second mission village at a place to which he gave the name of Mount Coke. A third one was formed in the beginning of 1827, in the territories of a Caffre chief named Hinza; to this the name of Butterworth was assigned, in honour of the late excellent

* Reports of the London Missionary Society, 1836-1841.

senator of that name. It is about forty miles inland, and 120 at least from the colonial boundary. We may give the following specimen of the Sunday exercises at this station, furnished by Mr Kay, who laboured there :—

“ The appearance of our Sabbath-day congregations is both novel and interesting. With the exception of a few individuals, who have obtained European apparel, all appear in their native costume. Upon entering the chapel, however, every one wraps his mantle about him, so as to appear as decent as possible. The men take their places on one side of the room, and the women on the other, while the children fill up the aisles and spaces between. All being seated, either upon low benches or mats laid on the floor, we usually commence with a hymn ; every two lines of which the congregation repeats after the preacher, previously to their being sung. The whole being thus impressed upon their memory, the majority soon become able to repeat from memory : and this delightful part of the service is rendered still more so by the sight of old men and children endeavouring to join in the sacred song. Singing being ended, the people kneel down, and, with their faces on the ground, observe the strictest silence during the time of prayer. Our Lord’s Prayer having been translated into Caffre, we generally make a point of using it on all public occasions, so that many of the natives themselves, from frequently hearing it, have committed it to memory, and may often be heard repeating it in their houses. After prayer the decalogue is read every Sunday morning, and all present repeat the responses. To hear an assembly of half-naked pagans, whose ears the sound of Jehovah’s name has but just reached, crying with one voice, ‘ Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law,’ is much more affecting than can be described. Some passage of scripture is then explained in as simple a manner as possible, and the service concluded, as it was begun, with singing and prayer.”

In 1829, a fourth station was instituted in the terri-

tories of the Temboos, and named Clarkson. An interesting account is given by Mr Kay of a missionary meeting which took place at Wesleyville. The audience, consisting of several hundred persons, was addressed not merely by European clergymen and laymen, but also by no fewer than seven Caffre chiefs. One of these, Abana, spoke to the following purport :—"What is the word ! It is God's word. Who brought it ! The missionaries. Who sent them ! God. Why did they come ! To turn us from our sins. I thank very much indeed. I thank also that we are come together to-day without assagais ; they are all left at home. I thank Somerset (the gentleman who presided) ; and the missionaries I cannot thank enough."*

The missionaries have civilized as well as christianized their converts, thus showing the great temporal benefits which the gospel is sure to bring in its train.† They have given an additional attestation to the truth of Dr Chalmers' remark, "It is not the previous civilisation which makes way for the Christianity,—it is the previous incipient Christianity which makes way for the civilisation." It seems just as unreasonable to attempt to make savages fit for the gospel by previously civilizing them, as it is hopeless to endeavour to bring a

* Kay's Travels and Researches in Caffraria.

† The Rev. John Brownlee, Wesleyan Missionary in Caffreland, was the subject of the following sonnet, from the pen of the late Mr Pringle :—

"He left his christian friends and native strand,
By pity for benighted men constrained ;
His heart was fraught with charity unfeigned ;
His life was strict, his manners meek and bland,
Long dwelt he lonely in a heathen land,
In want and weariness—yet ne'er complained ;
But laboured that the lost sheep might be gained,
Not seeking recompense from human hand.
The credit of the arduous works he wrought,
Was reaped by other men who came behind ;
The world gave him no honour—none he sought,
But cherished Christ's example in his mind.
To one great aim his heart and hopes were given,—
To serve his God, and gather souls to heaven."

sinner to the Saviour by telling him to acquire a certain amount of preparatory virtue before he thinks of coming to Christ.

The Glasgow Missionary Society, adhering to the principles of the Church of Scotland, has for some years maintained a station in South Africa. There is connected with it an institution for the education of youth, over which the Rev. W. Govan presides.

In 1804, the Church Missionary Society sent out to West Africa Messrs Renner and Hartwig, who had received ordination in Germany. The choice of their destination was made from a commendable desire to repay that continent in some measure for the grievous injuries inflicted upon it by the slave-trade. The Sierra Leone Company had been instituted some years before, with the same benevolent design. In 1806, Messrs Butscher, Nylander, and Prose were despatched, who, after narrowly escaping shipwreck, and suffering various detentions, arrived safely at Free Town. On their arrival they found, to their great regret, that the conduct of Mr Hartwig had become so exceedingly inconsistent with his profession, that his connexion with the society was cancelled.* Several years afterwards he died, and it is believed a sincere penitent. A station was established in the Susoo country, under the protection of a chief named Fantimani. Here Mr Prose soon died, cut off at the very beginning of his interesting toils. Mr Nylander proved of great use in the colony of Sierra Leone, and there obtained several seals of his ministry. A settlement was formed at Bashia, where the school soon had many pupils, children of the traders and also of the

* Several other instances of misconduct have occurred among the persons sent out by various missionary societies. We have not thought it advisable to mention these particularly, as there is so much of a more cheering character to be related; but, assuredly, such cases ought to lead to the very utmost caution, both in the directors of societies, and in persons who intend to devote themselves to missionary labour. "Let a man examine himself," and let him willingly submit to the strictest scrutiny from others.

Susos. In 1811, the number amounted to 120; the previous year the teacher at Sierra Leone had 150 under his care.

Some pleasing cases of conversion occurred among the children under instruction, but few impressions seem to have been made on adults, with whom, indeed, the missionaries held little intercourse, conceiving that their minds were so debased by the slave-trade as to afford scarcely any prospect of bringing them to a knowledge of the truth. Their opinion seems to have been rashly formed, as, in other countries, persons apparently as brutish have been converted, through the blessing of God on the simple and faithful preaching of the gospel. Several clergymen and lay assistants were sent out, but the unhealthy climate committed such fearful ravages among them, that within a month or two, in 1815, five members of the mission died. At this time the society had four settlements, and two of these, Bashia and Cannoffee, were set on fire by heathen natives, and great mischief done. Some of the missionaries were exposed to personal danger, from the fury of the infatuated savages, who accused them of originating the efforts that were made to put down the slave-trade, from which they had derived great profits. Shortly before the destruction of the church at Bashia, a public baptism, extending to ninety children and one adult, was celebrated within it. In reference to this solemnity Mr Renner writes :—" Had you seen this little infant congregation it would have rejoiced your heart. You would have said, ' Oh ! this sight is a balm on the wounds which the troubles of this mission have caused me from time to time. My pleading for this nation, from the very first, may at last not prove in vain.' "

In the beginning of 1816, the society sent out, as inspector of their missions in West Africa, the Rev. E. Bickersteth, then assistant secretary, and a tried friend of the institution. He left his native land " under circumstances of such personal sacrifice as must ever endear him to the church of Christ." Hearing of the

mortality among the missionaries, which we have mentioned, he wrote home to the society, "It may even please God to take nearly every instrument away, just as he diminished Gideon's army before he allowed them to conquer the Midianites; but in his own time, and for his dear Son's sake, he will make bare his holy arm, and Africa shall see the salvation of our God." It gave him satisfaction to find that the conduct of the preachers had established confidence in their good intentions towards the negroes. But he was grieved to find the natives so ignorant and degraded as they were; their head men being no better than the common people. On returning to Sierra Leone, he preached, previously to the formation of an auxiliary Bible Society, at the request of the governor, who, with all the principal inhabitants, became subscribers. Four schoolmasters, with their wives, at this time arrived from England; their services were much needed. Mr Bickersteth observes, with regard to a school in the colony, "When I recollected the scene which I had beheld in the hold of a slave-ship, in which most of them had been immured, or the wretched state of nakedness, ignorance, and sloth in which I had seen them lying about in their native villages, and contrasted this with the schools in the colony, and the names of Wilberforce, Buchanan, and Martyn, the hope could not but arise that some of these children would become such benefactors to their country, as those honourable names have been to ours." He considered the missionaries to have acted unwisely in neglecting the preaching of the word, and argued that a converted adult must, from the very nature of the case, be a far more efficient instrument for doing good to others than any one who had been regularly instructed in a seminary. On his return home, he brought with him a youth from the Bashia school, by name Simeon Wilhelm, in order to be educated in this country. This interesting African had not been long in England before he was attacked with pulmonary consumption, common to natives of a hot climate

when they come into a colder one. The Rev. Josiah Pratt preached two funeral sermons on the Lord's day succeeding his interment ; and the peculiar features of his character are thus delineated by Mr Bickersteth as consisting in " his anxiety to be safe and right in his state ; his love of the scriptures and of prayer ; his fervent and simple love to the Saviour ; his warm affection for his kindred and countrymen ; his steady regard for truth ; and his humble and affectionate spirit."

The society now established at Sierra Leone an institution, the object of which was to train the negro children, fitting them for mechanical or agricultural pursuits, and instructing the more promising and pious to serve as schoolmasters, catechists, and preachers. Such as seemed likely to settle in the interior were to be taught the various languages by natives employed for that purpose, and, under proper teachers, to be made acquainted with Arabic, in order to enable them to cope with the Mohammedans. A grant of land was made to the institution by the colonial government.

The society were obliged to relinquish, one after another, all their stations out of the colony. There, however, the efforts of the missionaries have been much blessed, though the number of deaths has always been great among them ; not many holding out against the climate more than a few years. Other societies have since shared in their labours, among which the Wesleyan has peculiarly distinguished itself. The colony of Liberia, established for emancipated slaves belonging to the United States, is thought likely by many to have a powerful influence on the amelioration of the state of Western Africa.*

* *Missionary Records. West Africa.*

CHAPTER X.

Missions to Greenland and Labrador.

Missions to Greenland—Hans Egede—His Labours—Moravian Brethren—Their Success delayed—Kayarnak, the first Convert—New Herrnhut—Lichtenfels—Lichtenau—Fredericksthal—Labrador—Moravian Missions—Different Stations, and Progress of the Gospel.

It is stated in Norwegian chronicles, that, during the Middle Ages, East Greenland was christianized by colonists from Iceland. Various causes contributed to interrupt their intercourse with Europe, and for several centuries no trace has been discovered of them; a fact which gives some probability to the supposition that they were cut off by the savage inhabitants. After the Reformation, various attempts were made to discover the lost colony; and, though without success, these efforts had kept Greenland prominently before the minds of the Danish people. In 1708, it occurred to the Rev. Hans Egede, minister at Vogen in Norway, that it was the duty of his countrymen to endeavour to reclaim from barbarism and idolatry the descendants of the settlers, if they continued to exist. Two years elapsed before he took any step towards the attainment of his wishes; but, in 1710, he addressed memorials to the bishops of Bergen and Drontheim, requesting their support in the prosecution of this benevolent undertaking. Both prelates expressed their approbation of his design, and promised to do every thing in their power for its promotion. Various circumstances, however, concurred to postpone all fulfilment of his hopes; he was ridi-

culed as a fanatic by some, and branded as a designing hypocrite by others. "None of these things moved him;" and, in 1718, with the consent of the bishop, he resigned his living. He repaired to Copenhagen, presented a memorial to the Royal College of Missions, and received for answer, that the king, Frederick IV., would take into consideration the best means of accomplishing his object.

In 1719, a royal mandate was sent to the magistrates of Bergen, requiring them to collect the opinions of all who had been in Davis' Straits concerning the trade on the eastern shore, and the establishment of a colony there. These persons, however, treated his project with contempt. Egede was indefatigable in endeavouring to procure funds for a private expedition, and at last succeeded in obtaining the sum of £2000, with which a ship named the *Hope* was purchased to carry him to Greenland. In the spring of 1721, a message arrived from the Mission College, stating that the king approved of the undertaking, and appointed him minister to the new colonists, with an annual salary of £60, and £100 for his immediate equipment.

On the 2d of May 1721, Egede embarked with his wife and four children; and, after a very dangerous voyage, the *Hope* anchored at Baal's River, in latitude 64°. A house of stone and earth, lined with boards, was erected on an island named after the ship, which the colonists entered on the 3d of August, after a thanksgiving sermon on Psalm cxvii. The Greenlanders showed great jealousy of the strangers, when they found that they intended to reside among them, but were gradually convinced that they had no hostile designs. Egede availed himself of every opportunity to acquire their language; his attempts to benefit the people being much impeded by his inability to converse with them. Meantime he made his eldest son draw some pictures illustrating events in the evangelical history, so as to attract their attention; and by this method he succeeded in communicating a little know-

ledge. He likewise obtained some influence by the recovery of certain sick persons with whom he had prayed, after having admonished them to acknowledge and invoke the true God.

Meanwhile, the trade was quite unproductive ; and the colonists had the mortification to see that a Dutch vessel, which ran into Godhaab harbour, bought more in half an hour than they had been able to procure in the whole winter. Besides, their provisions began to fall short ; and the storeship not arriving, many indulged in murmurs against the minister for leading them to such an inhospitable country. It was therefore determined to quit Greenland at the departure of the brig that wintered in Godhaab ; but on the 27th of June, the ship made its appearance, and Egede received the welcome intelligence that the Bergen merchants were resolved to prosecute the trade, notwithstanding its unpromising aspect. With his two little sons, he dwelt among the natives some time in the winter of 1722, though greatly incommoded by the filthy habits of their hosts. He was disappointed in some persons, who lived with him merely to get their bodily wants supplied.

In 1723, the missionary received a colleague in the Reverend Albert Top. Egede had been appointed by the company superintendent of the colony, and was in consequence obliged to undertake many distant and toilsome expeditions, in order to discover proper places for hunting and fishing. But he did not neglect the duties of his function ; on the contrary, he translated into the native tongue some prayers and hymns, with certain short questions and answers relating to the creation, fall, redemption, resurrection, and final judgment. Although the people occasionally listened to what was said, yet any intended amusement or hunting excursion was sufficient to draw away their attention. Besides, the *angelaks* or conjurers threw every possible obstacle in the way of his labours. He, however, persevered in his pious efforts ; and on one occasion, he was applied

to by an *angkok* for assistance to a sick child. The minister assured him that the infant was at the point of death; but, if he would suffer it to be baptized, it might still be happy in heaven. The father consented, and the solemn rite was accordingly performed; after which the child died. The parents then requested baptism for themselves, but were informed that they must first receive an adequate knowledge of the truth.

The gross and carnal notions of the Greenlanders often deeply grieved their instructor. They had no desire for any thing beyond what met their eyes; in them the corruption of man's heart appeared without any of the specious veils so often thrown over it among more civilized nations. Two boys were persuaded to reside among the colonists, and shortly after were sent to Copenhagen, in order to have an opportunity of seeing European modes of life. One of them died in Bergen; and in 1725, Poek, the other, returned to his native land, where he astonished his countrymen by his descriptions of what he had seen. Two other boys were received by Egede, who gave them instruction; and both were christened. In 1727, the child of Poek was baptized; and, in the following year, its parents were, by the same means, admitted into the church. At that time, a large reinforcement of settlers were sent from Denmark, with a garrison sufficient to protect them. Two other missionaries arrived, Olaus Lange and Henry Milzoug.

Preparations had been made to remove the colony to the mainland, four leagues farther to the east; but this was prevented by a contagious disorder, which carried off a number of the colonists. Egede now proposed to his colleagues to baptize the children of those persons who professed their belief in Christianity, in order to induce the latter to live in the neighbourhood, and allow their offspring to be brought up in the knowledge and fear of God. Next year they received the approbation of the Missionary College on three conditions,—that the parents should give their free consent, should not be influenced by any superstitious motive, and bind them-

selves to permit proper instruction to be communicated. The brethren were enjoined not to baptize adults until they were adequately taught and gave evidence of conversion.

Not long after this, most of the settlers abandoned the colony, on account of their want of success in trade. Egede's two colleagues were among those who departed, so that he was once more the sole labourer in Greenland. In 1733, he was gladdened by the information, received through the medium of a Danish ship, that the trade and mission would be supported; for which purpose, the king, Christian VI., was pleased to set apart £100 annually. With the same vessel arrived three other missionaries from a different and unexpected quarter.*

The Church of the Moravians or United Brethren, which had been only a few years before restored from a state of almost utter extinction by the kindness of Count Zinzendorf, was not long in directing its attention to the state of the perishing heathen. Matthew Stach and Frederic Boehnisch, two young men, being at work together in preparing a piece of ground for a burial-place at Hernnhut, in the course of conversation, found that they had, unknown to each other, formed the design of going as missionaries to Greenland. The delay of a year intervened before their offer was accepted by the congregation; and, at the end of that time—Boehnisch being otherwise employed—Matthew Stach was accompanied by his cousin Christian, and by Christian David, a venerable member of their church.† A poet of that community has thus described their departure:—

“ Three chosen candidates at length went forth,
Heralds of mercy to the frozen north ;

* Crantz's History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 258-291.

† Foster has finely remarked of the evangelistic character of the brethren's church,—“ One most amiable fraternity, whose gentleness at home involves a principle by which it glows into energy and heroism in proportion to the remoteness of the distance and the barbarousness and ruggedness of the field of action to which it is voluntarily exiled, have made missions to the heathens an essential part of their institution.”

Like mariners, with seal'd instructions sent,
 They went in faith (as childless Abram went
 To dwell by sufferance in a land decreed
 The future birthright of his promised seed),
 Unknowing whither ;—uninquiring why
 Their lot was cast beneath so strange a sky,
 Where cloud nor star appear'd, to mortal sense
 Pointing the hidden path of Providence,
 And all around seem'd darkness to be felt ;
 Yet in that darkness light eternal dwelt.
 They knew,—and 'twas enough for them to know,—
 The still small voice that whisper'd them to go ;
 For He who spake by that mysterious voice
 Inspired their will, and made his call their choice.”*

On the arrival of the brethren in Copenhagen, they were kindly received by many friends ; but to others their design appeared absolutely romantic. Count Pless, first lord of the bedchamber, after starting many objections, was won over to take a great interest in their design, and vigorously supported their petition to the king. Among other things, he said,—“ God has in all ages employed the meanest, and, in the eyes of the world, the most unlikely and even despicable instruments for accomplishing the grand designs of his kingdom, to show that the honour belongs to Him, and to teach mankind not to rely on their own penetration or power, but on his benediction.” His majesty granted them permission to go to Greenland, and even condescended to write a letter of recommendation to Egede. The count one day asked them how they proposed to maintain themselves. They replied, that they would build themselves a house, and cultivate the ground. They were told that they would find no wood to build with. “ Then,” said they, “ we will dig into the earth, and lodge there.”—“ No,” answered the nobleman : “ to that necessity you shall not be reduced ; you shall take timber with you for building a house ; accept of these fifty dollars for that purpose.” With this and similar donations, they purchased a variety of articles

* Montgomery's Greenland, canto i.

suitable to their condition as settlers in a distant and inhospitable clime.

On the 10th of April 1733, they set sail, and on the 20th of the following month they arrived at the place of their destination, where they were well received by Mr Egede, who promised them his assistance in acquiring the language. They fixed upon a spot for building, to which they afterwards gave the name of New Hernnhut; and after erecting a dwelling-house, they turned their attention to the means of procuring a maintenance, as well as to the acquisition of the dialect. They found the latter a very tedious undertaking, but love to the souls of the poor Greenlanders cheered them on. The natives were careless about instruction, and visited them only from curiosity or avarice; having no hesitation in stealing what they could not obtain by begging. The small-pox raged with such destructive fury among the Esquimaux, that it was supposed to have carried off between 2000 and 3000 persons. Egede, with the Moravians, was unremitting in his attention to the poor sufferers. The brethren were attacked by the scurvy, but providentially recovered; and, in writing to their friends at home, they remark, "At present we are in the school of faith, and the prospect before us is clouded and almost dark. We perceive no traces of any good work begun among the heathen—no, not so much as a sigh; and the poor creatures find death where they should find life." In the early part of the following year, Frederic Boehmisch and John Beck arrived from Europe, and informed them that it was the wish of the brethren at Hernnhut to support the mission to the utmost of their power. For some time after this they were all occupied in learning the language, and making voyages to adjacent parts of the coast, in order to gain a better acquaintance with the country and its inhabitants. As they were still defective in the Esquimaux tongue, they read to the natives some pieces translated by Egede, including the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed. Their kind and prudent de-

portment, so different from that of most Europeans, by degrees won the esteem of the people, who more and more sought their company. Still these last remained quite uninterested as to spiritual things. The brethren meanwhile were diligent in promoting their own religious improvement, delighting in social as well as private exercises ; but, discouraged by the want of success, they at length agreed to determine, as in the sight of God, whether they felt a conviction that He had called them to labour among the Greenlanders. Christian David deemed that his advanced years, and inability to learn the language, placed him at liberty to return to Europe, but pledged his exertions to support the mission with undiminished zeal. Christian Stach, though he did not consider himself bound to devote his whole life to the conversion of the heathen, was yet willing to hold out ten years or even longer, although no fruit should spring from his labours. The other three bound themselves never to desert the cause, until they could appeal to God and to their own consciences that they had done all that man could do. They confirmed their resolution by partaking together of the Lord's Supper.

After the departure of Christian David, the brethren were reduced to great straits for want of the necessities of life, being often obliged to satisfy the cravings of nature with shell-fish and sea-weed. In May 1736, they received a supply of provisions from a friend at Amsterdam. Shortly after, there arrived in a Danish vessel Matthew Stach's mother, a widow of forty-five years of age, and her two daughters Rosina and Anna, the former twenty-two and the latter only twelve years old. The elder afterwards married Beck, and the younger Boeh-nisch. In the same year Egede, worn out by illness, returned to Europe, after a stay of fifteen years in Greenland ; and, receiving from the King of Denmark a salary of £100 a-year, he spent the remainder of his days in honourable retirement.

The missionaries had to endure many insults and injuries from the natives, who were perfectly insensible

to their instructions: they even learned that a conspiracy had been formed against their lives, but which was defeated by the good providence of God. At length their prayers were answered. On the 2d of June 1738, Beck was occupied in copying a translation of a part of the Gospel according to Matthew; and the rude people being curious to know the contents of the book, he read a few sentences to them, giving them oral instruction upon the creation of the world, the fall of man, and his recovery by Jesus Christ. He then read to them from the New Testament the narrative of our Saviour's agony in the garden. Upon this, one of the company, Kayarnak, stepped up to the table, and, in an earnest manner, exclaimed, "How was that! tell me that once more, for I do desire to be saved." The missionary was so moved by these words, that he gave his audience a very feeling account of the life and death of the Redeemer, and the method of salvation through him. The inquisitive pagan, who gratified the brethren by his intelligence and sincerity, resisted the efforts of his countrymen to draw him away from the truth. After testing his sincerity and that of his family for several months, the missionaries admitted them into the visible church on Easter Sunday, March 29, 1739. The convert received the name of Samuel, his wife that of Anna, while his son and daughter were respectively denominated Matthew and Hannah. The form of baptism was "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, into the death of Jesus."

The brethren, who now saw a considerable congregation assembled, held regular meetings, morning and evening, for singing hymns and catechising. Much levity and inconsistency, no doubt, marked the conduct of the audience. "At one time," says Crantz, "they were sleepy and indifferent during the reading of the scriptures; at another their attention was awake and lively, and they were eager to become pious all at once. It gave the missionaries no small trouble to impress upon them the evidences and workings of a genuine

faith, as distinguished from mere approbation." But, even while dissatisfied with the conduct of the adults, they conceived better hopes of the children, of whom a few had been formed into a school.

In 1740, the brethren resolved to insist less than formerly on such truths as the unity of God, the creation, and the fall, and to confine themselves more to an exhibition of the great doctrines of the atonement and justification by faith. They resolved to "know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified." They found that the dwelling upon the doctrines of grace was beneficial to their own souls, and enabled them to speak with more fluency and fervour than they had previously possessed. They received much assistance from the converts in the thorough acquisition of the language. They began to translate the "Harmony of the Four Evangelists." Kayarnak was indefatigable in his efforts to spread a knowledge of the truth among his countrymen; but, in February 1741, this interesting person was cut off by pleurisy, giving pleasing evidence in his last illness of his steadfastness in the faith. Several others had now been converted, and proved of essential service among their countrymen, preparing the way for the missionaries by conversing about religious subjects. In certain respects they had more influence than the Europeans, whom the Esquimaux considered as speaking to them *professionally*. But some of the novices began to be puffed up with high thoughts of themselves on account of their labours among the heathen, and it became necessary for the brethren to show them the sinfulness of spiritual pride, and remind them that the grace of God alone made them to differ from others. Intercourse with the unbelievers proved a stumbling-block to some of the converts, and they fell into inconsistencies more or less aggravated. In such cases, the missionaries proportioned their reproofs according to the degree of the offence. Meanwhile they were gratified to find their flock at large growing in knowledge and stability.

In 1747, they erected their first church, a large

wooden building, of which the framework had been sent from Europe. It was opened on the 16th of October, when sermons were preached by Beck and Boehnisch; three Greenlanders were baptized, and a love-feast, according to the Moravian custom, was held. At the close of the year there were a hundred and twenty-six baptized; eight had died since 1741. Storehouses were built both for the brethren and the natives, who could now keep their provisions in a place of safety, being exposed neither to injury from cold, nor to the ravages of beasts of prey. In consequence of this and other regulations, above three hundred persons could now be maintained at New Herrnhut, where it was formerly deemed impossible for two families to subsist. In 1749, Matthew Stach returned from Europe, whither he had taken some believing Esquimaux, who seem to have derived considerable benefit, and no injury, from what they had seen and heard. At the sacrament on Good Friday, in 1751, there were exactly a hundred communicants present. All who were baptized expressed the greatest eagerness to be admitted to this ordinance; but the brethren in this case exercised that watchful jealousy which had caused them for several years to deny it altogether to the converts.

At a synod held at Barby, in Saxony, in 1750, it was deemed requisite to appoint a confidential deputy of the brethren's church, who should inspect the state of matters in the Greenland mission, and confirm or alter the regulations there subsisting as he might deem it advisable. Bishop John de Watteville was chosen for this service, and landed at the station in June 1752. He found that the congregation had been exposed to hardships, in consequence of an unusually severe winter; but had not suffered so much as the inhabitants in general, several of whom had perished through famine. He preached to the natives, one of the brethren interpreting by sentences. He frequently conferred with the missionaries on the affairs of the mission, and went along with them in their visits to the heathen, or to the dis-

persed members of their congregation. By his advice, those Esquimaux who had been selected as assistants were intrusted with the oversight of the people when abroad in summer, and were charged to hold a meeting every evening in their tents, for the benefit both of converts and such pagans as chose to attend. A revision of the Greenland hymn-book, which the bishop superintended, contained upwards of a hundred pieces, besides the litanies and liturgies of the church. Matthew Kayarnak thus wrote to Germany in reference to the occurrences now mentioned :—" We have been gratified beyond measure by Johannes Assersok's* visit.

When he spoke the first time in our meeting-hall, my eyes were bathed in tears. I can say with truth, that I am very happy, even much more so than when I was with you. Since that time our Saviour has done much in my heart. Worthless as I am, I can only thank him for his grace. He is exceedingly lovely, and my comfort in him will never have an end. I often think on you ; but now I never expect to see you more, till we go to our Saviour. His pierced side is the sanctuary where we shall meet again."

Not long after the bishop's visit, a contagious disorder made great ravages among the converts, thirty-five of whom died at the station, besides several in other places ; many of them giving the most satisfactory evidence of their departing in the faith and hope of the gospel. The missionaries were gratified to find that the believing Esquimaux showed every desire to provide for the children left orphans by this calamity, which formed a complete contrast to the selfish indifference of the unconverted in similar circumstances. An account was read to the congregation of the destruction of the brethren's settlement at Gnadenhutzen, in North America, and they were so affected, that they spontaneously made a proposal to raise some contributions for their poor brethren. " I have a fine rein-deer skin, which I

* This term means "the loving," and expresses the sense entertained of his kindness in visiting them.

will give," said one. "I," cried another, "have a pair of new rein-deer boots, which I will send them." "And I," added a third, "will send them a seal, that they may have something to eat and to burn." Though such contributions, when converted into money, were but of little value, the brethren did not think fit to reject what was so freely offered, as it was a proof how well true religion can soften the rudest and hardest hearts.

The congregation now consisted of about four hundred persons; and ever since the first awakening, the conversions had been considerable, in proportion to the population. The ministers were not anxious to have under their care a larger number than could be easily superintended, as otherwise disorder might have crept in among them. They had for some years had it in view to fix another station farther to the south; and a factory having been established at Fisher's Bay, 100 miles distant from New Herrnhut, they obtained leave from the Greenland Trading Company to avail themselves of that position. In 1758, Matthew Stach, with Jans and Peter Haven, explored the country in the neighbourhood, and selected a spot called Ahonaanish for the place of their residence. It was situated in a bay on an island, about three miles from the open sea, and as many from the factory; and, though it afforded no prospect to the sun—which is peculiarly desirable in Greenland—it was a pleasant situation, as it possessed fresh water which is never frozen, a secure harbour, and a strand which remains open the whole year. The name of Lichtenfels* was given to this settlement. Four Esquimaux families, who accompanied the teachers thither, suffered considerably for want of sufficient food; and both missionaries and Greenlanders were sometimes in danger of their lives in the various voyages which it was necessary for them to make. In January 1760, the first heathen family was baptized at Lichtenfels. There was some resemblance between this

* Light-rock, so called from its being surrounded with naked cliffs.

and the first converted household at New Hernnhut, for "both consisted of father, mother, son, and daughter; both came from the south, were quite ignorant, and yet got the start of those who had long sat under the sound of the gospel." The settlement, after this, continued steadily to flourish.*

In 1761, the historian Crantz visited Greenland, going out in the same ship with Boehnisch and his wife, who were returning from Europe. His own observations, and the records laid before him, enabled him to compose a narrative equally authentic and interesting. Though pleased with the general conduct of the believers, it gave him much pain to mark the opposition of others to the gospel. "It shocked me," says he, "to see many of them pierced to the heart, so that they trembled, snuffed, and blew like frightened deer, and sometimes, like a man in strong convulsions, tugged their coat or boots, in order to stifle their convictions; and, as soon as the preaching was over, they ran off in haste, lest the subject should be more closely applied to them." In the next year, the brethren at New Hernnhut sustained a severe loss in the death of their most valued assistant, Daniel. He was born about the time of Egede's arrival; and, after reaching maturity, had been baptized by the Rev. Mr Drachart, a Danish missionary, from whom he received permission to live with the Moravians. The latter soon discovered that he possessed talents far superior to those of his countrymen in general, and appointed him to assist them in preaching to the Esquimaux and instructing them in private. He was indefatigable in his labours. "His testimony to the heathen was, on all occasions, lively, intrepid, and engaging; and his public discourses to his brethren, simple, affectionate, and impressive. He generally spoke by similitudes, and had an agreeable method of applying them to the heart. Several conversions were the result of his efforts. After a season of backsliding, occasioned

* Crantz, vol. ii. p. 5-194. Holmes' Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren, p. 9-44.

by spiritual pride, he was restored to his first love by the mercy of God operating, as it would appear, by the loss of his daughter, a very promising child. In his last illness, which was of short duration, the brethren always found him in happy intercourse with "the friend that sticketh closer than a brother." In writing to Germany, the missionaries thus expressed themselves:—"We have lost in him an inestimable present from the Lord—a man whose heart was warm with love to God, an affectionate brother, a faithful assistant, an ornament of the congregation, and a man of God approved both to Christians and heathen. Yet why do we say lost? He is gone to those blessed mansions where we hope soon to join him, and rejoice with him eternally." Soon afterwards, Frederic Boehnisch died, after labouring thirty years at New Hernhut.

In 1768, an *angekok*, who had often heard the gospel, but apparently without effect, was so terrified by a dream, that he altered his manner of life, and despatched a message to the missionaries, desiring that one of them would come and instruct him and his people in the way of salvation; a request which was gladly complied with. This occurrence was followed by a general awakening, which took place in the vicinity of both stations; and, in the course of a few months, many were added to the church by baptism.

In 1771, the venerable Matthew Stach closed his connexion with Greenland, after thirty-eight years' service; spending the remainder of his life at Wachau, in North America. Sometime afterwards, the Rev. C. M. Königseer arrived as superintendent of the mission; and, though upwards of fifty, he applied with diligence to the study of the language, and soon obtained an accurate acquaintance with it. He possessed an advantage over his predecessors in a liberal education, which qualified him for correcting their works. He compiled an *Esquimaux* hymn-book, and translated the Summary of Christian Doctrine.

In 1774, a third settlement was founded, to which the name of Lichtenau was given. Within the circuit of a

few miles, nearly a thousand Greenlanders resided, to whom the missionaries preached the word with visible blessing; for, in the ensuing summer, fourteen adults were baptized. In the course of a few years, upwards of 200 individuals belonged to this congregation. In 1776, several new regulations were made by the directors of the Greenland Trading Company, calculated to secure the natives against the avarice of Europeans. An order, however, issued at the same time, enjoined that the Esquimaux, instead of living together in one place, should divide themselves into smaller parties during the winter; an arrangement which was likely to injure their spiritual interests. The teachers were obliged to obviate this inconvenience as they best could, by appointing native assistants to reside with each company, and by maintaining a visiting correspondence with them. Many refused to leave the settlements; and some who had gone away afterwards returned. In the following year, John Beck died, the only one of the first five brethren who then remained in Greenland. He had translated into their tongue the whole of the New Testament, with various parts of the Old.

A destructive epidemic raged in 1782, which carried off many, both at New Hernahut and Lichtenfels. At the former place, so many died that there was scarcely a sufficient number of persons left to bury them. These stations had now ceased to be *missionary*, in the strict sense of the word; the whole neighbourhood having been gradually christianized under their influence. The brethren, however, lost no opportunity of proclaiming the gospel to the roving bands of heathen who paid them casual visits. Lichtenau was still the centre of a large pagan population, attached to the district by the facilities of procuring fish and game; and no year passed without the baptism of a greater or smaller number of converts. In October 1785, two men went thither from the eastern coast, who had been the whole summer on the road, and whose residence was, in all probability, at least 500 miles distant.

In 1786, Königseer died, and was succeeded as superintendent by Jasper Broderson, who had arrived about two years before. He resided in turn at the three settlements; and, besides his avocations as superintendent and preacher, he paid great attention to the instruction of the children and young people. The mission, however, did not long enjoy his services; for a severe illness constrained him to return to Europe in 1794. In the preceding year, John Sörensen had left Greenland, after spending nearly half a century in his Master's work.

The brethren were constantly exposed to more or less hazard in their arduous vocation. Thus, in June 1794, two of them, having gone to a neighbouring island to fetch drift-wood, were so completely surrounded with ice, that for many days their return was impracticable. The persons sent in search of them by their fellow-labourers at New Herrnhut could not reach them. They were, however, providentially enabled to catch a sufficient quantity of fish to support life, and at length succeeded in getting to land, but at a great distance from the station, at which they arrived after an absence of a month. In their voyages to and from Europe, also, they were not unfrequently exposed to great danger. In 1804, brother Rudolph and his wife were shipwrecked, and left nine days on a rock without food. They were, however, discovered and preserved.

The war which, at the beginning of the present century, broke out between England and Denmark, occasioned an interruption of the intercourse carried on by the latter country with Greenland. On one occasion, a Danish provision-ship was intercepted by the British; and the brethren were in consequence reduced to great distress. It is melancholy to think that the disputes of belligerent nations should thus affect the common friends of the human race. In 1811, our government gave orders to allow such vessels, furnished with a proper license, to proceed on their voyage.

In January 1813, a very unfortunate accident occurred.

A party of Esquimaux, amounting to seventeen, having celebrated Christmas at Lichtenau, set out on their return, when their boat was crushed to pieces by the floating ice. They, however, escaped to a large field, on which they drove about during twenty-four hours; after which, a violent storm carried them out to sea, where, it is supposed, they all perished.

In November 1816, an adult heathen was baptized at New Hernnhut, a circumstance which had not occurred for sixteen years, and therefore made the deeper impression on all who witnessed the celebration of the ordinance.*

In the year 1821, the missionary Gereke, after stating that Mr Kleinschmidt had "made a fair copy of the New Testament in the Greenland language," which was to be sent to the British and Foreign Bible Society in order to be printed, adds,—“the society will judge for themselves of the number of copies which will be wanted, when they are informed that the three congregations under the care of the brethren consist of 1278 persons, old and young, comprising 359 at New Hernnhut, 331 at Lichtenfels, and 588 at Lichtenau.”

In 1824, a fourth station was founded, named Fredericksthal, to which Mr Kleinschmidt was appointed. The directors of the brethren's missions remark at the close of 1840, that “the accounts from our Greenland stations have been, generally speaking, of a cheering nature. A large numerical increase is not to be expected in this thinly peopled region, no heathens being left on the whole of the western coast; and the few heathen visitors from the east, who have occasionally come to Fredericksthal to traffic, have hitherto manifested no disposition to receive the gospel. But the missionaries at all the stations had been enabled to pursue their spiritual calling, both in public and private, with comfort to themselves and with profit to their charge. They have, however, still to lament the com-

* Holmes' Historical Sketches.

pulsory dispersion of part of their flock for a considerable period of the year. This inconvenience is remedied, as far as possible, by mutual visits and those who have enjoyed the benefit of school instruction are able both to read the scriptures themselves and to teach their children to do the same. Favourable testimony was borne at all the stations to the diligence and love of learning evinced by the young ; and the annual examinations, at the close of the winter attendance, were very satisfactory." At the same time, there were in Greenland twenty-three preachers and 1801 converts, including 780 communicants.*

We cannot better conclude this sketch than in the words of Cowper, who, in his poem "Hope," thus contrasts the savage and christian state of the Esquimaux :—

" What were they ! what some fools are made by art,
They were by nature, Atheists, head and heart.
The gross idolatry blind heathens teach
Was too refined for them, beyond their reach.
Not e'en the glorious sun, though men revere
The monarch most that seldom will appear,
And though his beams, that quicken where they shine,
May claim some right to be esteem'd divine,
Not e'en the sun, desirable as rare,
Could bend one knee, engage one votary there ;
They were, what base Credulity believes
True Christians are, dissemblers, drunkards, thieves.
The full-gorged savage, at his nauseous feast,
Spent half the darkness, and snored out the rest ;
Was one, whom Justice, on an equal plan,
Denouncing death upon the sins of man,
Might almost have indulged with an escape,
Chargeable only with a human shape.

What are they now ! Morality may spare
Her grave concern, her kind suspicions there :
The wretch, who once sang wildly, danced, and laugh'd,
And sack'd in dizzy madness with his draught,
Has wept a silent flood, reversed his ways,
Is sober, meek, benevolent, and prays,
Feeds sparingly, communicates his store,
Abhors the craft he boasted of before,
And he that stole, has learn'd to steal no more.

* Periodical Accounts of the United Brethren's Missions.

Well spake the prophet, Let the desert sing,
 Where sprang the thorn, the spiry fir shall spring
 And where unsightly and rank thistles grew,
 Shall grow the myrtle and luxuriant yew."

The missionaries in Greenland early conjectured that the natives of Labrador were nearly connected with the people among whom they laboured; and they earnestly desired to attempt their conversion. An unsuccessful effort was made in 1752; but in 1764, Jens Haven, having obtained the countenance of Sir Hugh Palliser, governor of Newfoundland, landed on the coast at Querpont, where he succeeded in ingratiating himself with a party of the natives. Several years, however, elapsed before the mission was actually established. In 1768, some Esquimaux came to Chateau Bay, and renewed their usual marauding practices; but being attacked by a party of English, some were killed and others made prisoners. Three of the latter, a woman and her two sons, the one about thirteen and the other six years of age, were brought to England. The elder boy, whose name was Karpik, was presented by Sir Hugh to the Moravian Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen. Possessing great vivacity, quickness of apprehension, and docility, he was placed in the brethren's seminary at Fulneck in Yorkshire, where he received instruction. He was afterwards baptized, but in 1769, he died of the smallpox. The applications made by his mother Mikak, to influential persons by whom she was much noticed, forwarded the intended object. On a report of the Board of Trade to the Privy-Council, a resolution was adopted to establish a mission in Labrador; and on the 8th of May 1769, an order in council was issued to this effect:—"That the land in Esquimaux Bay, desired by the Unitas Fratrum, should be granted to them and their Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen; and that they be protected in their laudable undertaking."

In 1770, three missionaries sailed on an exploratory voyage to Labrador, and selected a proper spot for a

settlement. They found the natives not only willing to sell it to them, but desirous that a company of the brethren should take possession of it. Those who ultimately went out consisted of three married couples, a widower, and seven single men, some of whom were designed to manage its secular affairs. Having been solemnly commended to the grace of God in the chapel in Fetter-lane, they sailed from England in May 1771, and arrived in safety on the 9th of August. They immediately commenced the erection of their house, the frame of which, together with bricks and every other requisite, they had carried from Britain; but they were obliged to surround it with palisades, as they were in considerable danger from a people with whom murder and robbery had become habitual. As one of them wrote, "their situation was critical; it was as if each with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other held a weapon." A considerable change, however, soon passed upon the demeanour of the natives, who expressed an anxiety to hear about the *good news*; and, to remove all fears, they of their own accord showed that they had no deadly weapons secreted either in their clothes or kayaks. The brethren gave to their settlement the name of Nain.

The Esquimaux learned to respect the missionaries, whose advice they asked in all difficult cases, and whom they chose as arbiters in their disputes. In 1773, the governor of Newfoundland sent Lieutenant Curtis to survey the coast, and inquire into the situation of the brethren. At his desire the heads of families, about thirty in number, were assembled, and made acquainted with some regulations which the British authorities deemed it advisable to adopt. To these they promised a cheerful obedience, and added, "It is right that a murderer or thief be punished with death, for he deserves it; but since we have heard the gospel of Jesus we have neither murdered nor stolen, and we will not do it in future." Though the moral habits of the people were greatly ameliorated, it was found dif-

ficult to convince them of the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and the innate depravity of the heart. The first evidence of conversion which the brethren had, was in the case of a man called Anauke, who died at a distance from the settlement, but, as his wife informed the missionaries, displayed no fear of dissolution. He said to her, "Weep not, for I go to the Saviour who loves men so much;" and his countrymen ever after spoke of him as "the man whom the Saviour took to himself."

As Nain was found insufficient to serve as a gathering-place for the inhabitants, dispersed over a line of coast extending to 600 miles, and as it afforded scanty resources in the winter season, it was resolved to establish two additional stations, one to the north and the other to the south. In 1774, four missionaries undertook a voyage to explore the northern coast. After enduring many hardships, they suffered shipwreck on their return; two of them, Brasen and Lehman, lost their lives; the others, Haven and Lister, with the sailors, saved themselves by swimming to a barren rock. Here they suffered much from hunger and cold, and must have perished if they had not succeeded in drawing a boat on the rock, which they partially repaired, and again ventured to sea. The wind was favourable; and they were providentially observed by an Esquimaux in his kayak, who towed them into the harbour of Nain. In the following year, the persons who had so narrowly escaped a terrible death made a voyage to the south, and, after some search, discovered a place more eligible for a settlement than any yet seen.

Before the directors of the missions could take into consideration the propriety of occupying this station, they had commissioned Haven to found a new one at Okkak, about 150 miles to the north of Nain. Accompanied by another labourer, he proceeded thither in the summer of 1775. Having purchased the land from the natives, in the following year they established themselves at the place; and, though their success was not rapid, it was sufficient to animate their spirits. In

1778, six adults were baptized ; and three years after, there belonged to the congregation thirty-eight persons, besides ten catechumens.

In 1782, the brethren Liebisch and Turner experienced a remarkable preservation of their lives. Having left Nain for Okkak, in a sledge drawn by dogs, they were joined by some Esquimaux, so that the whole party consisted of five men, a woman, and a child. They kept at a considerable distance from the shore, to gain the smoothest portion of the ice, and avoid the rocky promontory of Kiglopeit ; but symptoms of the sea being in motion constrained the travellers to keep nearer to the land. Scarcely had they accomplished their object, when the whole mass, extending several miles from the coast, burst, and was overwhelmed by the waves. " The sight was tremendous and awfully grand ; the large fields of ice raising themselves out of the water, striking against each other, and plunging into the deep with a violence not to be described, and a noise like the discharge of innumerable batteries of heavy guns. The darkness of the night, the roaring of the wind and sea, and the dashing of the waves and ice against the rocks, filled the travellers with sensations of awe and horror, and almost deprived them of the power of utterance. They stood overwhelmed with astonishment at their miraculous escape ; and even the heathen Esquimaux expressed gratitude to God for their deliverance." During the following night, the advancing waters forced them to flee from the snow-house which they had erected. They built another in the morning ; and in it they were obliged to remain six days, subsisting on very short allowances of food. At last the ice became sufficiently firm to allow them to return to Nain, where they were received with great joy by their friends, who had become alarmed for their safety.

In the ensuing summer, the brethren began a third missionary establishment on the coast towards the south, which they called Hopedale. Various circumstances, however, for some years prevented this station from

being attended with much success, so that it was contemplated to abandon it altogether.

In 1790, many horrid murders were committed in the northern part of Labrador, the natives falling upon one another in their tents by night. Amidst the alarm which the news of such events spread throughout the country, the missionaries were encouraged by the remarks made by the Esquimaux who resided on their land. These last expressed their thankfulness that the strangers had settled in their country; adding, "as many murders would certainly have been committed here, if you had not come and brought us the good news of our Creator and Redeemer, of his love to us, and our duty to love him and our neighbour."

About six years after, the brethren had a very trying period. An epidemical disease raged among the natives some months; and, during several weeks, the usual meetings for worship were almost totally suspended, as the people could not leave their habitations. It was painful to see that some of the congregation, upon finding the medicines supplied by the missionaries ineffectual, had recourse to their old superstitious practices for recovery. Almost all of them, however, confessed their sin in this matter, and, with every mark of true penitence, begged to be restored to communion. This disease proved much more fatal to the heathen than to the converts.

In 1799 died William Tuglavina, a man of great note among the people, who had acquired his influence by the pre-eminence both of his bodily and mental powers. He gave himself out as a sorcerer, and pretended to have extraordinary gifts conferred on him by the Torngak or familiar spirit, whom he professed to consult on all occasions. He might have prevented the settlement of the Moravians in the country if he had so willed; but, though a tyrant in his own nation, he always respected the brethren, to whom, however, he on various occasions gave much trouble, by his successful efforts to draw away the simple from their

The missionaries have had the pleasure of remarking that conversions take place, not merely among adult heathens, but also among the children and young people brought up at the stations. The progress of all classes in scriptural knowledge has been greatly promoted by the translation and printing of the Harmony of the Gospels and the Summary of Christian Doctrine.

In 1829, the brethren at Nain thus spoke of those who died during the prevalence of an infectious disorder :—"Our greatest comfort was the state of mind of the twenty-one persons who departed this life ; each seeming more desirous than another to depart and be with Christ. They all declared that they rejoiced at the prospect of soon seeing Him face to face, who, by sufferings and death, had redeemed them from the power of sin and the fear of death. In watching the departure of many, we felt indeed as if heaven was opening to them. Parents were removed from the embraces of their children, and departed with joy ; as did many children out of the arms of their parents. Thus the Lord gathered in a rich harvest. Many of the patients even expressed sorrow at being left behind."

In 1830, a fourth settlement was founded, to which the name of Hebron was given. It was at first intended chiefly as an outlet for the redundant population of Okkak ; but it is now hoped that it will prove the means of greatly extending the Saviour's kingdom.

The present state of the missions may be learned from the following passage in the Report for 1840 :—"We would gratefully mention the kind assistance received from the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Tract Society, in printing, at their own cost, the translations made by our missionaries of portions of the scriptures and other useful books into the Esquimaux language. Similar proofs of cordial interest in our labours have been afforded by the American Tract Society. At Hebron, the brethren had the pleasure of welcoming several families of heathen Esquimaux, who had come

from the north to place themselves under instruction. At Nain, the intercourse of our Esquimaux with European traders in the south had a prejudicial influence on their spiritual course. At Hopedale, on the contrary, several families who had been led astray in former years had returned with every mark of sincere contrition." In Labrador, at the close of 1840, the Moravian church had twenty-six missionaries, and 1034 natives under their care, of whom 376 were communicants.*

* Holmes' Sketches. Periodical Accounts.

CHAPTER XI.

Missions to the North American Indians.

Puritan Settlers in New England—Eliot—Translation of the Bible—Indian Towns—Labours of the Mayhews—Brainerd—His Plans and Success—Bishop Berkeley—Moravians—Success and Sufferings—Zeisberger—Present State of the Missions—American Board of Missions.

THE seventeenth century is distinguished in the civil annals of Britain as the period when its constitution was placed on a basis by which the regal prerogative and the rights of the subject were equally secured. It was rendered memorable in the religious history of our island by that translation of the Bible which has conferred the greatest benefit on all by whom the English tongue is spoken; by the composition of the Westminster Confession of Faith, to which so many millions of our countrymen point as the best summary of their theological views; and by the labours of our most distinguished divines, who, whether, like Taylor, Barrow, and Leighton, they supported the episcopal cause, or, like Baxter, Owen, and Howe, threw their influence into the puritan scale, have won for themselves a station of pre-eminence which succeeding writers have seldom been able to attain. We mean not to disparage any of the religious efforts just enumerated, when we express our opinion that the labours of the first British missionaries now to be related may, in point of importance, be ranked along with them. The colonial possessions of England were as yet few, and consequently her adventurous sons had been but rarely brought into contact with the errors and atrocities of

paganism. It is to be feared, however, that even then their conduct, in some cases, was such as rather to repel than attract the dupes of an idolatrous creed. The noblest of all exceptions to this inconsistency is furnished by the puritans who took refuge in America. Whatever opinion may be formed of the reasons which induced these nonconformists to leave their native land, few, we think, will deny them the praise of sincerity and zeal. Their pious feelings led to the building of churches in the districts which they occupied, and, when this claim on their attention was fulfilled, disposed them to make efforts for the conversion of the Indians.

The greatest labourer in this apparently unpromising field was the Rev. John Eliot. This "apostle of the American Indians" was born in 1605, but the place of his nativity is uncertain. He was educated at the university of Cambridge, where he made great progress in the studies connected with his clerical destination. For some time he acted as usher in a school near Chelmsford, kept by the Rev. Thomas Hooker; to whose pious conversation and example he ascribed his first serious views. Seeing that the times were unfavourable to his prospects of usefulness at home, he set sail for America in the summer of 1631; and shortly afterwards he was chosen pastor of the church at Roxbury, in the neighbourhood of Boston. Here he had to contend with considerable difficulties, arising from the characters of the motley group of emigrants who composed the ecclesiastical community. But he became celebrated as a useful, laborious, and evangelical minister, whose character exemplified his precepts, and whose family government afforded a pattern to his flock.

After several years spent in performing the duties incumbent upon a pastor, he resolved to attempt the evangelisation of the Indians, whom he supposed to be the descendants of the ten tribes; an opinion which has since been adopted by others. He applied himself to the acquisition of the language; respecting which his biographer remarks—"The words of it are long.

enough to tire the patience of any scholar in the world; one would think they had been growing ever since Babel into the dimensions to which they are now extended." He enjoyed the assistance of an intelligent native, and succeeded in reducing the barbarous dialect into a grammatical form; and on concluding this arduous task, he wrote,—“Prayers and pains through faith in Christ Jesus will do any thing!” In October 1646, he set out for the nearest Indian village, distant about four or five miles from his residence; and as he had given previous notice of his visit, a large audience was assembled. He delivered a discourse upwards of an hour in length, in which he mentioned “the creation of the world, and the fall of man; the greatness of God, who made all things; the ten commandments, and the threatenings denounced against the transgressors of them; the character and office of Jesus Christ; the last judgment, the joys of heaven, and the torments of hell.” He then answered, with all possible plainness, the questions put to him by his hearers. Several other meetings took place, in the course of which he found that considerable impression had been made; and at length he applied to the General Court of Massachusetts, in order to obtain land for such natives as might be willing to settle under his care. This was granted, and in 1651, a town was formed, named Natick. At the establishment of this community he presided, and the Indians entered into the following covenant:—“We are the sons of Adam; we and our forefathers have a long time been lost in our sins; but now the mercy of the Lord beginneth to find us out again; therefore, the grace of Christ helping us, we do give ourselves and our children unto God to be his people. He shall rule us in all our affairs: the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king, he will save us; and the wisdom which God has taught us in his book shall guide us. O Jehovah! teach us wisdom; send thy Spirit into our hearts; take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God.”

Eliot drew up a code of laws for the infant settlement, in which Sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, profligacy and similar grave offences, were subjected to severe penalties ; but it is hardly possible to repress a smile at such enactments as the following :—" If any man wear long hair, he shall pay five shillings." Both sexes were instructed in useful arts ; still, their benefactor had many difficulties to struggle with before he could reduce the aborigines to the decorum of civilized life. Amid all their barbarism, however, they possessed considerable intellectual power. " There is need," writes the missionary to a friend, " of learning in ministers who preach to Indians, much more than to Englishmen and gracious Christians ; for these had sundry philosophical questions, which some knowledge of the arts must help to give answer to, and without which they would not have been satisfied. Worse than Indian ignorance hath blinded their eyes, that renounce learning as an enemy to gospel ministers."

Though he retained his charge at Roxbury, he usually went once a-fortnight on an excursion through the different parts of Massachusetts and the neighbouring states, preaching the gospel to as many as would hear him. In these journeys he had to endure much from inclemency of weather, the pathlessness of a country still imperfectly explored, and, most of all, from the opposition of chiefs and priests.

In 1660, the converted Indians were formed into a christian church, and had the Lord's Supper administered to them. The congregations of New England were then extremely rigorous in their terms of admitting persons to church fellowship, requiring from them decided evidence of personal religion. Nor did they abate their strictness in the case of the natives ; for, after Eliot had himself heard several of them make confession of their sins, and give an account of the principles of religion, with their own spiritual experience, the pastors of the neighbouring churches assembled by his desire and listened to similar declarations on the part of others.

They were not only pleased, but deeply affected with these simple confessions ; some of which were afterwards published, in order to obtain the opinions of pious persons in England and America. After the lapse of ten years, the congregation consisted only of between forty and fifty persons.

The zealous missionary translated the Bible into the Indian language ; the New Testament was printed at Cambridge, New England, in 1661, and was followed, three years afterwards, by the Old. This was the first edition of the Scriptures printed in America. Besides this great work, he translated various other useful books, such as primers and catechisms, the *Practice of Piety*,* *Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*, and *Shepherd's Sincere Convert and Sound Believer*. He instituted schools, at which many learned to read and write. At Cambridge a building was erected which cost between £300 and £400, under the name of the Indian's College. It was intended for the clerical education of young converts ; but, on account of the death or departure of most of the native students, it was chiefly occupied by Anglo-Americans.

The zeal of Eliot excited emulation among some other ministers, and by their united exertions the number of towns inhabited by "praying Indians" amounted to fourteen. The historian of New England thus mentions a congregation in Martha's Vineyard :—" This church, after fasting and prayer, chose one Hiocoomes to be their pastor, John Tockinosh, an able and a discreet Christian, to be their teacher, Joshua Mummercheegs and John Nanaso to be ruling elders ; and these were then ordained by Mr Eliot and Mr Cotton thereunto. * * * These churches are so exact in their admission, and so solemn in their discipline, and so serious

* A work written by Dr Bayly, bishop of Bangor. During the first half of the seventeenth century it enjoyed unbounded popularity as a christian manual. It was then displaced by "The Whole Duty of Man." After being long out of print, it has been lately republished.

in their communion, that some of the christian English in the neighbourhood, which would have been loath to have mixed with them in a civil relation, yet have gladly done it in a sacred one."

The efforts made to convert and civilize the Indians were greatly impeded by a war which broke out between the whites and Philip, a celebrated native chief; for during this contest many of the villages were destroyed. But in spite of all discouragements Eliot continued to labour among the aborigines; and when unable to do more, he caused a native child to live with him, employing the feeble remains of his strength in teaching him passages from the Bible. During his last illness, he said, "There is a cloud, a dark cloud, upon the work of the gospel among the poor Indians. The Lord revive and prosper that work, and grant it may live when I am dead. It is a work which I have been doing much and long about. But what was the word I spoke last? I recall that word. 'My doings!' alas! they have been poor, and small, and lean doings, and I'll be the man that shall throw the first stone at them all." Cotton Mather, in his quaint manner, says, "his last breath smelt strong of heaven, and was articulated into none but very gracious notes; one of the last whereof was 'Welcome joy!' and at last it went away calling upon the standers by to pray, pray, pray! which was the thing in which so vast a portion of it had been before employed." Eliot exemplified the evangelical virtues in his life, and they were adorned with that lowliness of mind, which the poet, in describing a christian character, rightly brings into prominence:

"Upon humility his virtues grow,
And tower so high because so fix'd below;
As wider spreads the oak his boughs around,
When deeper with his roots he digs the solid ground."*

In 1641, Mr Thomas Mayhew obtained a grant of Martha's Vineyard, with some adjacent districts; and

* Crabbe.

three years afterwards his son, of the same name, pastor of the congregational church, devoted himself to the conversion of the Indians. After obtaining considerable success, he was drowned in a voyage to England, undertaken with the view of interesting in his missionary efforts the friends of religion in the mother-country. The elder Mayhew, though seventy years of age, now acquired a competent knowledge of the Indian language, and for some time acted as a preacher to the natives. Two converts were not long after ordained to the office of the ministry. In 1674, there were 1500 "praying Indians" in this connexion; but only fifty in full communion, who were, however, exemplary persons. In 1680, their venerable instructor died in the ninety-third year of his age; but the evangelistic zeal of the family did not cease with him. Three ministers, of as many generations, John, Experience, and Zechariah Mayhew, officiated as missionaries, and the last of them lived till the year 1803. Perhaps no family has been so honoured in promoting the cause of religion among a rude people.*

One of the most distinguished names in the history of missions is that of the Rev. David Brainerd. He began his labours among the Indians in April 1743, at a place called Kaunaumek, under the superintendence of the American correspondents of the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. He laboured with great zeal amidst much sickness and discomfort of various kinds; studying to instruct them in the most important parts of religion, and communicate his lessons in the plainest manner. Several acquired a considerable knowledge of the gospel, and a great improvement in external matters took place. Drunkenness became less frequent; the Sabbath was well observed; idolatrous sacrifices were altogether abolished; and other heathen customs were in a good measure renounced. Still,

* Mather's History of New England, book iii. p. 173-211, and book vi. pp. 53, 54. Brown's History of Missions, vol. i. p. 34-60. Carne's Life of Eliot.

he could not affirm that a saving change had passed upon any of his hearers. After labouring among them about a year, he informed the Indians that he was going to leave, advising them to repair to the neighbouring town of Stockbridge, where the Rev. Mr Sergeant was employed as a missionary, which most of them did.

Brainerd went to the Forks of Delaware, in Pennsylvania; shortly after which he was ordained as a presbyterian minister. For a year he took the greatest pains to instruct the Indians of this and neighbouring districts in the truths of the gospel, submitting to great fatigues and hardships. Few missionaries have acted better up to what has been said to be the duty of an evangelist:—that “he will follow their manner of life, eat with them and drink with them, and seek access to them at all their unguarded moments, that he may be always at hand to drop his words seasonably into their ear, and manifest constantly before their eyes the influence of his faith over all the conditions of man, instead of merely addressing them now and then with set speeches and abstract discourses, against the very time, form, and place of which their minds are already in arms.” Yet he was much grieved and dispirited at his want of success. In June 1745, he went to Cross-weeksung, in New Jersey, where he found at first only a few women and children; but the number of his congregation soon increased, and they were remarkably attentive to his instructions. After spending some weeks at this place, he returned to the Forks, greatly to the sorrow of the Indians, who earnestly begged him to pay them soon another visit. He did so about a month afterwards, and found that the seriousness formerly observed still continued. In a few days, there was among them that general concern regarding spiritual things manifested when a revival of religion takes place among nominal Christians. Many were led earnestly to inquire what they should do to be saved, and were carried through various stages of divine discipline until they rested in a firm trust upon the Redeemer. Brainerd

found his time fully occupied either in public discourses or private dealings with the Indians. After baptizing fifteen adults, besides ten children, he returned to his other station, requesting, before he departed, that they who had become serious would spend the remainder of that day in prayer for the success of his work. "They cheerfully complied with the motion ; and, soon after I left them (the sun being then about an hour and a half high), they began, and continued praying all night till break of day, or very near it ; never mistrusting, they tell me, till they went out and viewed the stars, and saw the morning-star a considerable height, that it was later than common bed-time. Thus eager and unwearied were they in their devotions ! A remarkable night it was, attended with a powerful influence upon those who were yet under concern, as well as those that had received comfort."

He continued during several months to pass from Crossweeksung to the Forks, and back again, doing most good at the former place. He thus speaks of the first celebration of the Lord's Supper there :—" This competency of doctrinal knowledge, together with their grave and decent attendance upon the ordinance, their affectionate melting under it, and the sweet and christian frame of mind they discovered consequent upon it, gave me great satisfaction respecting my administration of it to them. And O ! what a sweet and blessed season was this ! God himself, I am persuaded, was in the midst of his people, attending his own ordinances. And I doubt not but many, in the conclusion of the day, could say with their whole hearts, ' Verily, a day thus spent in God's house is better than a thousand elsewhere.' There seemed to be but *one heart* among the pious people. The sweet union, harmony, and endearing love and tenderness subsisting among them was, I thought, the most lively emblem of the heavenly world I had ever seen."

He gives the following account of the doctrine he preached to the Indians :—" It was the principal scope and drift of all my discourses to this people for several

months together (after having taught them something of the being and perfections of God, his creation of man in a state of rectitude and happiness, and the obligations mankind were thence under to love and honour him), to lead them into an acquaintance with their deplorable state by nature as fallen creatures; their inability to extricate and deliver themselves from it; the utter insufficiency of our external reformatations and amendments of life, or of any religious performances they were capable of in this fallen state, to bring them into the favour of God, and interest them in his eternal mercy; and thence to show them their absolute need of Christ to redeem and save them from the misery of their fallen state. To open his all-sufficiency and willingness to save the chief of sinners; the freeness and riches of divine grace, proposed 'without money and without price' to all that will accept the offer; and thereupon to press them, without delay, to betake themselves to him under a sense of their misery and undone state, for relief and everlasting salvation; and to show them the abundant encouragement the gospel proposes to needy, perishing, and helpless sinners, in order to engage them to do so. These things I repeatedly and largely insisted upon from time to time." With reference to the moral effects of this style of preaching, he adds,—“Happy experience, as well as the word of God and the example of Christ and his apostles, has taught me that the very method of preaching which is best suited to awake in mankind a sense and lively apprehension of their depravity and misery in a fallen state, to excite them earnestly to seek after a change of heart, and to fly for refuge to free and sovereign grace in Christ, as the only hope set before them, is like to be most successful towards the reformation of their external conduct.” In this case, as in many others, it was found that

“The cross, once seen, is death to ev'ry vice.”

Evangelical preaching is the only means to produce any extensive, deep, or lasting reformation of conduct.

Bad health obliged him to leave the Indians, after being gladdened by the good which God had wrought by his hands; and having lingered some months, he at length died of consumption. His character has been deeply studied by pious individuals. The late Dr Ryland of Bristol used to say that he esteemed Brainerd's Life next to the Bible. It was the favourite volume of Henry Martyn, whose religious character it greatly contributed to form. Robert Hall has remarked that "the Life and Diary of David Brainerd, missionary to the American Indians, exhibits a perfect pattern of the qualities which should distinguish the instructor of rude and barbarous tribes;—the most invincible patience and self-denial; the profoundest humility, exquisite prudence, indefatigable industry, and such a devotedness to God, or rather, such an absorption of the whole soul in zeal for the divine glory and the salvation of men, as is scarcely to be paralleled since the days of the apostles. Such was the intense ardour of his mind, that it seems to have diffused the spirit of a martyr over the most common incidents of his life." The Rev. John Brainerd succeeded his brother as missionary to the Indians, and for several years the work continued to prosper. After his death, however, the want of an efficient labourer was severely felt, and the good work seems to have terminated. Still many sincere converts had been made, whose pious lives and peaceful deaths attested the influence of the Spirit on their hearts.*

Every person at all conversant with metaphysical science must respect the name of Bishop Berkeley as the author of "The Theory of Vision," and regret that on the defence of idealism he should have wasted his great mental powers, and misapplied his very beautiful style. Sir James Mackintosh, after dwelling on his amiableness and consequent popularity, observes,— "It was when thus beloved and celebrated that he

* Edwards' Life and Journal of Brainerd. Hall's Works, vol. iv.

conceived, at the age of forty-five, the design of devoting his life to reclaim and convert the natives of North America: and he employed as much influence and solicitation as common men do for their most prized objects, in obtaining leave to resign his dignities and revenues, to quit his accomplished and affectionate friends, and to bury himself in what must have seemed an intellectual desert." It was while dean of Derry that he circulated a proposal for the civilisation of the native tribes by the establishment of a missionary college in the Bermudas. He concludes in these impressive words:—"A benefaction of this kind seems to enlarge the very being of a man, extending it to distant places and to future times; inasmuch as unseen countries and after-ages may feel the effects of his bounty, while he himself reaps the reward in the blessed society of all those who, having 'turned many to righteousness, shine as the stars for ever and ever.'" After crossing the Atlantic, and living two years in Rhode Island, he was obliged to return, as the public money promised to him was otherwise applied.*

While the spiritual destitution of the Indians was thus an object to some good men of other communions, it is undeniable that the Moravian church has made the most continued efforts to bring these poor wanderers into the fold of the Redeemer. The brethren first directed their attention to Georgia, from which, however, they were soon obliged to retire. In 1740, Christian Rauch began his labours among the natives in their town Shekomeko, on the borders of Connecticut. Like other missionaries to these savage tribes, he had to encounter great hardships; and, for a time, no fruit appeared. His confidence in the savages excited their astonishment, and called forth their admiration. One of them said, on observing him asleep in his hut,—“This man cannot be a bad man; he fears no evil; not from us, who are so fierce, but sleeps comfortably, and

* Life of Berkeley and Works, p. 387-393.

puts his life in our hands." The same individual, whose name was Tschoop, was one of the first converts. He had formerly been remarkable for every kind of iniquity; but, as his character and conduct underwent a complete change, upon the occasion of Count Zinzendorf's visit to the infant mission, he and three other Indians were baptized. Shekomeko now became a flourishing little town, where other missionaries joined Rauch, and promoted the good work. While it formed a centre of attraction to those in its neighbourhood, the brethren at Bethlehem (a Moravian settlement in Pennsylvania, originally built by colonists from Germany) frequently sent some of their number to preach in the villages in their vicinity, which were inhabited chiefly by Delawares.

In March 1743, the first celebration of the Lord's Supper took place at Shekomeko, when ten Indians sat down as communicants. Their number was increased every subsequent month; and in July of the same year, a new chapel was opened. A gentleman from Pennsylvania, who visited the station about this time, remarked, that he thought himself seated in a company of primitive Christians. In the following year, the brethren were exposed to some annoyance in consequence of the charge brought against them by some evil-disposed persons, that they were in league with the French. Though acquitted, their adversaries soon afterwards procured the passing of an act by the governor and council of New York, forbidding the missionaries to instruct the natives. They were obliged to retire to Bethlehem with heavy hearts, where, soon after their arrival, they baptized a man and his wife, the first fruits of the gospel from the Delaware nation. The converted Indians at Shekomeko did their utmost to maintain a sense of religion among themselves; and, in April 1746, some families, amounting to forty-four persons, arrived at Bethlehem, being compelled to leave their former residence by the tyranny of white men. As an Indian settlement could not be supported in the

immediate neighbourhood, the brethren purchased 200 acres of land about thirty miles distant, where a town was laid out, and called Gnadenhutzen. It continued for some years to flourish ; and the inhabitants increased to about 500 persons. In 1753, an embassy from the Nantikoks, Shawnees, and Iroquois, arrived at the village, and persuaded about eighty of them to remove to Wayomik, a town belonging to the Shawnees. This step was taken by those tribes, in order to afford a place of safety to their countrymen when they should make their intended attack upon the English, with whom they designed to contend, as allies of the French. An interval of rest which succeeded this removal was soon fearfully broken.

Late in the evening of the 24th November 1755, while the Moravians were at supper, they were suddenly alarmed by the barking of dogs, followed by the report of a gun. On opening the door of the house, they observed a party of hostile Indians standing with their pieces levelled. They fired, and Martin Nitschman was killed on the spot. Another of them, named Fabricius, in attempting to escape from the dwelling, which was set on fire, was first wounded by two balls, and then despatched by tomahawks. Eleven persons belonging to the station were burnt alive, among whom was a child fifteen months old. One of the female sufferers, already surrounded by the flames, was heard to say, " 'Tis all well, dear Saviour ! I expected nothing else." The christian Indians, hearing the report of guns, and seeing the destruction of the mission-house, wished to attack the enemy, but were diverted from their design by the ministers, and retired into the woods. A party of soldiers was sent by the governor of Pennsylvania for the protection of Bethlehem ; but, on New Year's day 1756, the savages again attacked Gnadenhutzen, set fire to it, and laid waste all the plantations, by which the inhabitants were reduced to the greatest poverty. These calamities disproved the charge of disloyalty brought against the brethren by enemies of the truth.

The Moravian colony of Bethlehem was exposed to considerable danger ; but it was preserved by the good providence of God. Many of the Indians took refuge in its vicinity, where they erected a town, called Nain. For some years the teachers enjoyed a season of quiet and prosperous labours ; but in November 1763, an express arrived from Philadelphia, requiring all the natives under instruction to repair to that city, where they would be protected on delivering up their arms. With this measure, deemed necessary in consequence of the war with the French, the converts complied, and, being accompanied by some missionaries, readily set out. For about a year they were detained in the barracks at Philadelphia, where the want of exercise and the change of food affected their health, and rendered them an easier prey to some contagious diseases which broke out among them in summer. Fifty-six died, many of them not only with composure, but in full assurance of eternal glory. On the restoration of peace, the survivors were transported to the banks of the Susquehanna, where they formed a settlement, named Friedenshutten. One or two other missionary stations were soon after occupied by the brethren.

In 1772, the people of Friedenshutten received information that the Iroquois had clandestinely sold to the English the lands on which their town stood, although they had formally ceded it to the christian Indians seven years before. They now resolved to seek another residence, and in June the whole congregation, in number 241 persons, set out, some by land and others by water, enduring great hardships by the way, and journeyed until they reached Friedenstadt, another village belonging to converted natives. They did not remain there, but went on to a new settlement, about seventy-five miles farther west, and nearly the same distance from Lake Erie, named Schönbrunn. Not long afterwards, the encroachments of the savages obliged the inhabitants of Friedenstadt to migrate to a spot about ten miles lower, which they called Gnaden-

hutten. In 1776, the missionaries Zeisberger and Heckewalder, with eight families, went to form a third settlement higher up the Muskingum River, afterwards known by the appellation of Lichtenau. The intercourse which took place among the people of the three stations proved mutually profitable.

The war between Great Britain and the American colonies had now broken out, and as the brethren resolved to take no part in it, their neutrality served to render them suspected by both parties. The enmity of some apostate Indians soon obliged them to abandon Schönbrunn and retire to Lichtenau. In August 1777, intelligence reached this village that 200 Huron warriors, headed by a chief named the Half-king, were on their march against it; but these savages, accepting a supply of provisions from the inhabitants, abandoned their original intention. Though this danger was averted, other perils succeeded; the whole surrounding country being a scene of murder and devastation, in consequence of the continuance of the war. Zeisberger was told that the Mingoes had laid a plot against his life. He replied, "If I am in danger, I cannot prevent it, and will not fly from it; but I commit my work, my fate, my future course, to my gracious Lord and Master, whom I serve. I remain cheerful and confident." One day, while on a journey with two Indian converts, he was met by a white man who headed a party of Mingoes. As soon as he observed the missionary he called out to the savages, "Here is the man whom we have long wished to secure; do now as you think proper." The Indian captain shook his head, and after putting a few questions walked off with his followers. The enmity of the English to the brethren arose from the belief that they were the means of preventing several tribes from espousing the cause of Britain.

The whole mission was concentrated in 1778 at Lichtenau; but certain changes taking place, this station was abandoned, Schönbrunn was rebuilt on the opposite bank of the Muskingum, and a new settlement,

twenty miles distant, was founded, with the name of Salem. After the Moravians had lived some time in peace, and witnessed their congregations enjoying spiritual prosperity, in August 1781, a band of 300 Indians, in the service of the British crown, marched against them, and after treating the brethren with great harshness, compelled them to emigrate to Sandusky Creek, upwards of 120 miles from their habitations. Here they suffered much for want of provisions. Compelled by famine, a considerable number returned to the forsaken settlements on the Muskingum, where the corn was still standing unreaped in the fields, and where they hoped to find themselves secure. In this latter supposition they were fatally mistaken, for, being attacked by a band of Indians, about a hundred of them were murdered, who, according to the testimony of their butchers, met death with resignation and forgiveness of their destroyers. The accounts of such savage cruelties completely remove any regret that might be felt about the disappearance of the tribes by whom they were practised. Poetry, indeed, may claim as an interesting and romantic personage :—

“ The forest-hero, train’d to wars,
Quiver’d and plumed, and lithe and tall,
And seam’d with glorious scars,”*

but civilisation and Christianity, with united voices, plead for the reign of a system in which such deeds of devastation can have no place.

The governor of Detroit, though personally very reluctant to adopt such a measure, was obliged to send an order to the missionaries at Sandusky to repair to his fort. When this command was made known to the congregation, they burst into loud lamentations, crying, “ We are left as sheep without a shepherd.”—“ Ah !” said one, “ it gives me no concern that I am poor and hungry, and have lost all my substance ; gladly would I suffer all this and much more ; but that our

* Bryant.

enemies are taking our teachers from us, and intend to rob our souls of nourishment, and deprive us of salvation: this is more than I can bear. But they shall never entice me to adopt their heathenish practices, or force me to do things abominable in the sight of God my Saviour." Zeisberger delivered an impressive address to the assembly, and then commended them in prayer to the Lord. After the departure of the brethren the Indians were dispersed; and thus a temporary stop was put to a once flourishing mission.

The Moravians were told by the governor of Detroit that they might retire to Bethlehem; but they preferred making another effort for the welfare of their Indian people. Through the interest of the governor, they obtained from the Chippeways a grant of land on the banks of the Huron, about thirty miles north of the fort. The same kind friend furnished them with a variety of stores, and sent a message to the native Christians, inviting them to return to their teachers. In July 1782, they began the erection of the settlement, to which they gave the appellation of New Gnadenhutten. As the industry of the brethren soon changed this wilderness into a fertile spot, by degrees a considerable number of their former flock assembled around them; and in May 1783, the missionaries joined in thanksgiving to God for the restoration of peace.

The tribe who had given up the tract on which New Gnadenhutten stood, now claimed it back, alleging that they could not submit to be deprived of one of their best hunting-grounds. The brethren accordingly removed, and after various wanderings, at last fixed their residence on a river which falls into Lake Erie. To this situation they gave the name of New Salem. Here many heathen Indians attended their ministry, and the blessing of the Lord rested on their labours. A chief thus addressed the converts:—"You are in truth a happy people; you live cheerfully and peaceably together; and this is to be found nowhere but among you."

But the brethren had not finished the allotted period of their wanderings. Four years after their arrival at New Salem, they found it advisable to quit that station, and after a temporary sojourn on the other side of the lake, they fixed their residence on the river Retrench or St Thomas, which being in Upper Canada, the British government assigned for the use of the mission 25,000 acres of land. The settlement, which was denominated Fairfield, was formed into a regular township, twelve miles in length and six in breadth. In a few years it became a very flourishing settlement. By their agricultural industry, the inhabitants not merely supplied their own immediate necessities, but were able to dispose of many articles to their neighbours. Indian corn, maple sugar, beef, with such manufactures as canoes, baskets, and mats, commanded a ready sale. The country was benefited by their labours, as they served to lower in price many necessities of life.

Though sometimes annoyed by heathen Indians, the brethren had much reason to be thankful for the Lord's kindness to them. Two aged disciples, who finished their mortal career about this period, had for many years been intimate friends, and when at length too feeble to work, used to converse together for hours upon spiritual matters. David, who died in 1797, was baptized in 1753, and had steadily adhered to the faith, amidst all the vicissitudes which the mission underwent. Joachim was the first Delaware that embraced the gospel, and was admitted into the church in 1745. As he understood the German and English languages, and could read, he was able to render considerable assistance to the missionaries.

The Congress of the United States had granted to the Brethren's Missionary Society in their country the lands on which Gnadenhutten, Schönbrunn, and Salem formerly stood, with 4000 acres of ground adjoining to each of the settlements. In August 1798, several Indian families from Fairfield commenced the renewal of the mission; and the venerable Zeisberger, though up-

wards of seventy years old, volunteering his services to accompany them. A settlement was formed on the site of Schönbrunn, and termed Goshen. Not long after, some heathen families removed thither, and embraced the truth. In 1808, the patriarch finished his earthly pilgrimage, in his eighty-eighth year. Ever since 1746, he had been engaged in the work of an evangelist; at all times distinguished for courage, activity, humility, discernment, and benevolence. He composed several works in the Onondago and Delaware languages, which he thoroughly understood. In a letter addressed to the late Rev. C. J. La Trobe, and written the year before his death, he thus expresses himself:—"I am now of little use, and I am no longer able to travel about; but can only pray that the Lord may help us, and prepare many faithful labourers and witnesses, burning with desire to lead the heathen to their Saviour." On his deathbed he thus spoke to the Indians:—"I am going, my people, to rest from all my labour, and be at home with the Lord; He has never forsaken me in distress, and will not forsake me now. I have reviewed my whole course of life, and found that there is much to be forgiven."*

The settlement at Fairfield enjoyed peace and prosperity more than twenty years; but it was involved in the troubles of the contest which, in 1812, broke out between Great Britain and the United States. A party of Americans, having defeated some English troops, entered the village and plundered it. "The missionaries were obliged to surrender their last morsel of bread; fifty bushels of potatoes, twelve of apples, all kinds of vegetables, and 600 pounds of flour, which they had just purchased for the winter's consumption, were taken from them, and ten bee-hives emptied of all the honey, without, however, destroying the bees." The brethren were compelled to leave the settlement, after which it was set on fire. At the end

* Carne's Life of Zeisberger.

of the war, they founded another, higher up on the opposite bank of the river, and at a little distance from it. This was called New Fairfield, and contained, at the time of its foundation, 109 inhabitants. The recent state of the mission may be learned from the remarks contained in the Report of the Brethren's American Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:—"The course of the Indian congregation was on the whole more pleasing, and justified the hope that, notwithstanding manifold imperfections and infirmities, it was approaching nearer to the image of a true congregation of believers. The meetings were numerous and devoutly attended; and the manifestations of the grace of God upon their hearts could not but be discerned. The communicants, in particular, distinguished themselves by a walk worthy of the gospel." A portion of the Fairfield people recently removed to Westfield, on the Missouri. Altogether, the brethren, at the close of 1840, had three stations, eleven preachers, and 376 Indian converts, of whom about seventy were in full communion.*

The American Board of Directors for Foreign Missions have, for a considerable number of years, maintained some stations among the Indians. The labours of their envoys have been attended with success; and both spiritually and temporally the natives have undergone a remarkable change. The inhabitants who live in the remoter parts of Canada have afforded occupation to the agents both of the Church and Wesleyan Societies; upon whose pious toils the great Head of the church has vouchsafed his blessing.

A Chippeway convert, Kahkewaquonaby, some years ago visited this country, and delivered addresses at various meetings. He said on one occasion, "Let me tell you, brothers and sisters, we were in a miserable state before we found Jesus. We roved about from place to place; we had no village, no good houses, no

* Holmes. Periodical Accounts.

sheep, no oxen, none of these good things ; but, when we got Jesus Christ, we began to desire these good things ; and, as soon as the Lord visited our souls, we got societies, and we built log-houses, and we formed villages, and we got sheep and oxen, and we began to enjoy the comforts of life. And let me tell you, christian friends, that, in order to do good to poor Indians, you must take them religion. Some men tried to convert them by making them farmers, and giving them oxen and ploughs, without the religion of Christ ; this has never succeeded among Indians. But, when their hearts are made sensible that they are sinners, and when they find that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, died for Indians as well as for white men, then they are prepared to be civilized, and to have all the comforts of life. Before this, they will not ; but, like the deer in the woods, they wish to rove about ; they must get Christ first, and then they will wish for all these things.”*

* Missionary Records : North America.

CHAPTER XII.

Missions to the West Indies and Guiana.

West Indies—Moravians—Danish Islands—Jamaica—Antigua—Wealeysans—Their Labours in different Islands—Opposition—London Missionary Society—Baptists—Guiana—Moravians and other Missionaries.

COUNT ZINZENDORF, to whom, as has been already remarked, the Moravian Church owed its preservation, went, in 1731, to be present at the coronation of Christian VI., king of Denmark. Some of his domestics became acquainted with a negro called Anthony; who told them that many of his countrymen in the island of St Thomas were desirous of being instructed in the way of salvation. The count related this on his return to Herrnhut; and Anthony, having obtained leave to visit that place, corroborated his narrative, but added, that the labours of the negroes would prevent their being able to receive religious instruction, unless their teacher should himself become a slave to instruct them during their daily occupations. This roused the attention of the congregation; and, in the following year, Leonard Dober and David Nitschman proceeded to the island just named, unintimidated by the formidable difficulties which seemed to encompass their undertaking. A friend in Copenhagen had, without their knowledge, written to a planter on their behalf; and that gentleman received them into his house. Nitschman, who had merely accompanied his friend across the Atlantic, returned to Europe in April 1733. Governor Gardelin, who was a pious man, gave Dober the situation of steward in his household; but the

missionary soon found it incompatible with thorough devotion to his great calling, and therefore resigned it. He hired a small room, and, by watching on plantations and other services, earned a scanty livelihood, which enabled him to pay his rent and procure bread and water. In June 1734, a reinforcement of brethren arrived; and, two months after, he returned to Europe. His successors fell victims to the climate; and the mission suffered a temporary suspension.

In 1736, Frederick Martin and another labourer arrived to renew it, and were received with joy by the catechumens. In a few months, upwards of 200 attended their instructions; and, on the 30th of September, three men were admitted into the visible church by baptism, as the first fruits of the negro population. A planter assisted the missionaries to purchase a small property, of which they took possession in August 1737, giving it the name of Posaunenberg. But various adversaries to the good work arose, whose malice shrunk from no false accusation, and so far prevailed that the brethren were cast into prison. In this way another feature was added to the resemblance they bore to the primitive teachers of the christian religion. Martin thus wrote concerning their state:—"Since our arrest, the negro congregation is daily increasing, and our Saviour strikingly manifests the power of his grace among them. By our confinement, some white people are brought to serious reflection. I cannot describe what the Lord is doing. May he enable us to be a light to our fellow-men; and may he make us more faithful, more active and useful in his service, whether we remain in prison or are set at liberty. Be of good courage; many hundred persons in St Thomas are praying to the Lord for our deliverance." Count Zinzendorf arrived at St Thomas in January 1739, and obtained the release of the brethren, with an apology from the governor for what had occurred. The noble visiter was much interested by the earnestness with which the negroes listened to the gospel, and frequently addressed them in person. Several

riots, however, took place, in the course of which the missionaries suffered in property and their converts in person ; but these outrages were soon suppressed. The slaves drew up a petition to the King of Denmark, which was seconded by a representation from the count ; and, in consequence of these efforts, an order was issued in the following August, securing liberty and protection to the brethren in preaching to the blacks.

Many years afterwards, the teachers used to speak of this time of suffering as a period when their hearts were deeply searched, and their love to the Lord Jesus was fervent. It was also a season remarkably blessed to their people. "The word of the Lord was not bound." In 1740, Martin wrote,—“ Scarcely a day passes but some of these poor creatures call upon us, bemoaning their sin and misery, and weeping for grace. When we walk out, we frequently observe one here and another there, praying and crying to the Lord for cleansing from sin by his precious blood.” On one occasion, forty, and on another ninety, negroes were baptized : but such large accessions to the church required more labourers, and, accordingly, almost every year others arrived, some of whom were early cut off by death. In 1747, Martin, during a visit to Europe, obtained from his Danish majesty a new rescript, in which every thing was regulated according to the desires of the brethren.

Two years later, Bishop de Watteville held a visitation in the Danish islands, and found that the labours of the Moravians had been less prosperous for some time. Several judicious regulations which he introduced had the effect of awakening a strong sense of religion among the negroes ; and during his stay in St Thomas, which lasted two months, above a hundred persons were baptized. Hitherto, for what reason does not appear, the brethren had been scrupulous about the baptism of infants ; but they now resolved to christen the children of believing parents as soon after birth as might be convenient. Brother Martin “entered into

the joy of his Lord" in 1750, after a "good and faithful" service of fifteen years. In 1753, they changed the name of their plantation from Posaunenberg to New Hernnhut, and purchased an estate on the opposite side of the island, which they called Nisky. Upwards of a hundred were at this time annually added to the church. Great aid was rendered by the native assistants, of whom there were more than twenty.

Several teachers had been sent to St Croix in 1734; but the mortality which prevailed prevented any labourer from being permanently stationed there till 1753. In the following year, a mission was founded in the small island of St Jan. Shortly afterwards, the number of negroes baptized in the former island amounted to more than a hundred annually, while in the latter it exceeded fifty. During an insurrection of the slaves in 1759, the brethren's congregation in St Croix remained loyal; and all malicious attempts to implicate them failed. In 1765, the mission-house in that island was burnt down and the church in St Jan was destroyed by a hurricane. Both disasters were speedily repaired. In 1771, a second station in St Croix received the name of Friedensberg: the other was denominated Friedensthal. The former appellation denotes Mount, and the latter Vale of Peace. In the following year, several calamities assailed the preachers, particularly famine and sickness. Great numbers of the negroes died, and several of their instructors were removed to a better world. A company of six Moravians, sailing, in 1776, for the Danish West India islands, were shipwrecked off Walls, one of the Shetland isles. Being very near the shore, they were all saved except one woman, who, falling into the wreck, could not be extricated.

In 1782, the jubilee of the mission was celebrated. From the reports of the time, it appears that, during the half century just elapsed, 8833 adult negroes and 2974 children had been baptized: 2381 of the former and 975 of the latter were now dead. Of the ministers and their assistants, their wives and children, 127 had de-

parted within the same period. Two years subsequently, Mr John Loretz, who visited the islands by appointment of the directors, spent some weeks inspecting the state of affairs, and deliberating with the brethren upon the best means of promoting the spiritual welfare of the negroes. It was resolved to bestow greater attention upon the translation of parts of the Bible into the language of that people. Brother Anerbach undertook to translate the Sundays' Gospels and Epistles, the Harmony of the Four Evangelists, and the Summary of Christian Doctrine. In 1784, died the Rev. Martin Moch, who, after labouring nearly twenty years among the North American Indians, had for a still longer period officiated as superintendent of the missions in the Danish islands. Upon his decease, it was considered best to intrust the management of affairs to a committee, composed of one or more individuals from each station. The advantages of this regulation were soon apparent. During the years which immediately followed, though the mission had to suffer from famine, epidemical disease, hurricanes, and the opposition of some planters, it continued to prosper. Influenced by the precepts of the Bible, the negroes meekly submitted to the galling yoke of slavery, and often recognised a gracious providence overruling it for the good of their souls. Thus, an aged member of the church once said,—“Though I was kidnapped in my native country, and thievishly sold, yet I feel no resentment against those who did it; for I believe I was brought hither by the will of God; and I cannot be sufficiently thankful to the Saviour that he has chosen me, in preference to many others, to hear his word, by which I have learned to know the way of salvation.”

In 1801, the negro Cornelius departed this life. He was baptized in 1749, and ever afterwards remained faithful to his profession. Having the appointment of master-mason to the royal buildings, he laid the foundation of six chapels belonging to the mission in these islands. He was able to write and speak the Creole, Dutch, Danish, German, and English languages; and,

by his exertions, purchased the freedom of himself, his wife, and six children. In 1754, he was appointed an assistant teacher. He possessed in an eminent degree the talent of expressing his ideas with clearness, which rendered his discourses edifying and pleasing to white people as well as to the slaves. Yet he was by no means elated by acquirements which raised him greatly above the level of his countrymen. Humility, kindness, and diligence, whether in spiritual or temporal avocations, distinguished his character. On his death-bed, he delivered an affecting address to his family, of which the following sentences formed a part:—"Love one another cordially. Let each strive to show proofs of love to his brother or sister; do not suffer yourselves to be tempted by any thing to become proud; for by that you may even miss your soul's salvation. If you follow this advice of your father, my joy will be complete when I shall once see you all again in eternal bliss, and be able to say to our Saviour, 'Here, Lord, is thy poor, unworthy Cornelius, and the children whom thou hast given me.' I am sure our Redeemer will not forsake you; but, I beseech you, do not forsake him." At his decease, he had, according to his own reckoning, attained eighty-four years. Nearly about the same time, another native assistant, Nathaniel, died at the age of ninety-eight.*

An important privilege has lately been granted to the brethren in the Danish islands, who have received from the government instructions to educate all the young blacks. "An ordinance has recently been published by the governor-general, directing the use of Stow's training system in all the schools established in St Croix,—an important measure, which seems to be the dawn of a brighter day for the negro population. * * * Instead of being allowed, perhaps once in the month, to collect the children, and give them some instruction in reading, we are now encouraged to take charge of them from

* Holmes, p. 293-331.

their fourth year, and to lead them daily to the Saviour." In those islands, at the end of 1840, the Moravians had seven stations, forty missionaries, and 10,599 converts, of whom about 4000 were communicants.*

Several respectable gentlemen in Jamaica, who had at heart the religious instruction of their slaves, requested the directors of the brethren's affairs to send out some labourers among them. Accordingly, the Rev. Z. G. Caries, with two others, sailed in 1754, and a house was erected for them on a piece of land with which they were presented, afterwards called Carmel. The planters also encouraged the negroes to attend the preaching of the gospel, which they did in great numbers, and twenty-six were baptized in the first year. But, after prospering a considerable time, the mission received a serious blow from a breach of harmony among the first labourers and some others, who, arriving to help them, conceived that greater strictness ought to be practised in regard to the admission of negroes to baptism than had hitherto been thought necessary. Amidst the unpleasant circumstances of this period, it was gratifying to the brethren to reflect, that none of the slaves to whom the gospel had been regularly preached joined in the insurrection of 1760. Four years after, Frederick Schlegel (a name since rendered illustrious in a totally different department) arrived to superintend their exertions, and was the instrument of a signal revival. In 1767, there were 131 admitted to baptism, and next year almost an equal number.

After the death of Schlegel, which happened in 1770, there was another period of little success; some of the baptized even relapsing into paganism. At the Bogue, the principal station, the auditory seldom exceeded sixty persons. "Nothing," says the historian of the Moravian Church, "could have encouraged the missionaries to remain at their post, but the consideration that, in the sight of God, *one* human soul is of infinite value."

* Periodical Accounts, 1841.

They also suffered somewhat from the rebellion of the Maroons in 1798. In 1804, the jubilee was celebrated, and the brethren thus wrote:—"Though we cannot exult over a very abundant harvest of souls which these fifty years have produced, or even over present prospects, yet we find sufficient cause of gratitude to the Lord for having preserved a seed in Jamaica also, which, in his own good time, may grow up into a rich harvest." During the years which immediately followed, some "seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord" gladdened their hearts.

The mission in Antigua was begun in 1756; and, five years afterwards, a place of worship for the negroes was built. The first labourer, Samuel Isles, finished his course in 1764; and, during the eight years of his ministry, only thirty-six black persons were baptized. A change for the better took place upon the arrival of Mr Brown from North America in 1769, who exerted himself to the utmost in the cause. The increase of the congregation rendered an enlargement of the chapel necessary; and the whole of the work was done by the slaves, after their daily tasks were over. Those who could not assist in the labour provided victuals for the others. In 1775, the number of stated hearers amounted to 2000; and not a month elapsed without an addition to the church of ten or twenty by baptism. A second station was established about this time; but in 1778, famine and epidemics prevailed, and the general misery was increased by thefts and robberies. During this period, the christian negroes acted consistently with their profession; never resenting sufferings inflicted by others, nor repining under grief sent from God. One of them, on finding that thieves had been in his house, said, with a very placid air, "Well, they have not been able to rob me of my reatest treasure, the grace of my Saviour. They are more to be pitied than I am." The brethren had not unfrequently to regret the removal of their converts to other lands, where they had no opportunity of hearing the gospel; but they were sometimes consoled to learn that

these poor people were in the habit of meeting together for mutual edification. They even occasionally, in such circumstances, proved a blessing to their unbelieving countrymen.

Most of the proprietors and managers were sensible of the great benefits derived from the preaching of the Moravians. One gentleman "wished all his slaves might be truly converted, for this would render them far more honest and punctual in their work than any punishment he could inflict." Yet there were exceptions to this feeling; some persons prohibiting them from going to the chapel, and in case of disobedience inflicting severe punishment. A certain individual used to beat his servant whenever he met her, and on her venturing to ask the reason, he replied, "Because you persist in going to the meetings." The poor woman then said, "If this be the reason, may God bless you, sir; our Saviour has endured far heavier sufferings for my sins than you can inflict on me."

In 1790, the mission sustained a severe loss in the removal of Mr Brown, who, after more than twenty years' labour, was obliged to retire on account of growing debility, both physical and mental. In 1797, a third settlement was formed, to which the name of Grace Bay was attached. Some time after, a planter thus gave his testimony to the good effect of the brethren's labours:—"Formerly we could hardly procure ropes enough on Monday for the purpose of punishing those slaves who had committed crimes on Sunday; twenty, thirty, and even more, were frequently hung; but since the gospel has been preached to them, scarcely two are hung in a whole year, and these for the most part are strange negroes, who have not been long in the island." In 1804, the congregation of St John's amounted to nearly three thousand. Six years afterwards, the missionaries commenced a regular Sunday school at the same station, adopting the Lancasterian mode of instruction. This seminary was opened with eighty scholars, but their number speedily increased to 700; the negroes stealing

time from their hours of rest in order to peruse the word of God. In 1812, famine and disease cut off more than 200 of the converts.

Since that time additional places of worship have been erected, and the mission has received abundant blessing from above. On the emancipation of the negroes the brethren remark :—" It would be difficult to convey to you, by words, any idea of the thrilling sensation of delight and gratitude which we again and again felt to-day, while beholding these dear people. One old sister, who has often wept because she could not regularly attend, said to me, her countenance beaming with delight, ' Me come to-morrow again, nothing to hinder me now ! ' " At the end of 1840, there were in Antigua eight stations with twenty-one missionaries, 11,972 negroes, of whom 4893 were communicants. A missionary thus writes from Lebanon in March 1841 :—" One means that has been richly blessed to this congregation, and more especially to the youthful part of it, is the wide circulation of the holy scriptures. Within the last two years we have distributed in the congregation more than 100 Bibles, and a great number of Testaments. We have also had the pleasure to pay about £40 to the Bible Society. The Lord continues to bless us in temporals. During the last year our congregation has raised about £100 for congregational expenses ; £100 for our Missionary Society ; £21 for the Bible Society, and the school has only cost the mission 11s. currency. Thus you see we have abundant reason to thank God, and take courage ; to go on our way rejoicing, yet with fear ; to have no confidence in the flesh, but to remember that we are only tools in the hands of the great Master Builder, to whom be ascribed all the glory ! "

In Jamaica, at the same time, the brethren had eleven stations, twenty-seven missionaries, and 11,702 negroes under their care, of whom about 2600 were communicants. In the other West India islands they had seven stations, twenty-six missionaries, and

20,000 negroes, including about 7000 who were communicants.*

The first West India island where the Wesleyans established themselves was Antigua. In 1760, Nathaniel Gilbert, Esq., who had been converted in England, went to that colony, and there exerted himself to spread the gospel. He was Speaker of the House of Assembly, yet stepped forth boldly to preach the truth to the negroes. Dr Coke observes,—“A mode of conduct so unprecedented, in such an exalted character, soon excited surprise; surprise was followed with disapprobation, and disapprobation settled in reproach and contempt. Regardless of the insults of those whose applause he had not courted, he continued to persevere, and soon saw that he had not laboured in vain.” On his death, the persons whom he had drawn together severely felt his loss; some relapsed into sin, while others held fast the truth. In 1778, Mr John Baxter, a shipwright in the Royal Dock at Chatham, went thither to work in his majesty’s service at English Harbour, contrary to the advice of his friends. He had been a Methodist for twelve years, and on his arrival in the island preached the gospel, and collected the scattered remains of Mr Gilbert’s flock. The Lord blessed his pious labours with considerable success. In 1786, Dr Coke visited the place, and found that the mission continued to flourish. Nearly 2000 persons were members of the Wesleyan Society. A gentleman offered the doctor £500 a-year if he would remain in Antigua; but as his engagements did not allow him to accept the invitation, it was respectfully declined. Mr Warrener, a Methodist preacher, was however left. In November 1805, Mr Baxter died, after a zealous service of twenty-seven years. He had been privileged to see the “grain of mustard-seed” grow up into a vigorous plant, whose leaves were for the healing of those “ordained to eternal life.”

In 1816, Antigua was placed under martial law, in

* Holmes’ History. Missionary Records. Periodical Accounts, 1841.

consequence of an alarming insurrection in Barbadoes. The brethren offered their assistance to the authorities, declaring their readiness to act in any way they might deem requisite for the maintenance of order. A gentleman, who unreasonably believed that religion had a seditious tendency, assembled his slaves, and told them what had occurred in the neighbouring island; when, to his surprise, they observed, "Massa, dem no have religion dere." In 1821, a missionary society was formed, and the subscriptions amounted to about £93 currency, exclusive of a quantity of trinkets which were contributed. "These," said one of the preachers, "by all who know the attachment of the people in the West Indies to their ornaments of gold, will be accounted as so many trophies of the cross; and I believe that this new society has been productive of more good to the cause of religion in this island than the establishment of any other institution whatever."

In Antigua slavery was abolished without the intermediate stage of apprenticeship; and the following is an account of the manner in which the day of emancipation was hailed:—"On the evening preceding we held watch-nights in all our chapels. We commenced divine service in St John's at nine o'clock. The congregation was very large; and although the people manifested strong feeling, yet it was solemn and devotional. About two minutes before twelve o'clock, I desired all the negroes and the friends of freedom to kneel down; the negroes to receive their liberty at the hand of God; and their friends, to take from Him the consummation which they had so devoutly wished. I believe that the feelings of every mind during these moments were indescribable; and you will naturally suppose that the noise and confusion were equally so. No! there was too much of God in it, and too little of mere human nature, to produce such an effect. My idea of the general feeling is expressed by our inimitable poet:—

'The speechless awe that dares not move;
And all the silent heaven of love.'

"When the clock struck twelve, I announced that the 1st of August had arrived, and exclaimed, 'You are all free!' Then the noise of their weeping was more distinctly heard; and it became general, and mingled with 'Glory be to God!' 'Praise the Lord!' We then sang 'Praise God, from whom all blessings flow,' with a continuation of several verses adapted to the occasion. Afterward was offered up a solemn thanksgiving to the Author of all our mercies; and we then sang our hymn for the king; the spirit of loyalty and gratitude manifested in the singing of that hymn, it was delightful to witness. Prayer was next made for our gracious sovereign, the royal family, the British parliament, and British Christians generally, by whom, under God, the great boon is conferred; in that prayer especially the people seemed to join with all the powers of their souls." In all the Wesleyan congregations the great event was celebrated with devout gratitude to the Giver of all good.

Dr Coke visited Jamaica in 1789, and preached several times, being listened to both by whites and negroes. Mr Hammett was shortly after appointed missionary to the island, and a chapel capable of containing 1500 persons was built at Kingston. He met with violent opposition from some of the whites; every calumny which could be invented was circulated against him; nor did those who succeeded, after bad health obliged him to quit Jamaica, fare better. In June 1795, a conflagration broke out at Montego, where a teacher was labouring; it raged five hours, and laid a great part of the town in ashes. Dr Coke says, "It is a fact which none can deny or disprove, that not a single house belonging to any one member in the Methodist society was injured, though the flames occasionally came near them. An infidel may attribute this to chance; but a Christian will see and acknowledge in it the hand of God." This class of persons were accused of disloyalty, but the utter groundlessness of this charge was demonstrated by the alacrity with which they

joined in the subscription, raised in 1797, for assisting the mother-country in carrying on the war. Although poor, in a few days they raised the sum of £150. Local preachers were employed here, as in other islands. "These were either blacks or people of colour. Their lives were pious; they were admirably adapted for the work in which they were engaged; and, however the voice of prejudice may exclaim against the intellectual powers of those who are of African birth and extraction, certain it is, that the abilities of these men were far from being contemptible." The various prayer and class meetings which the Wesleyans have found useful in maintaining the spirit of devotion among their people, were adopted in Jamaica with great benefit.

In December 1802, an intolerant act passed the legislative assembly. By this ordinance it was decreed, that "no person, unless qualified by the laws of Jamaica and Great Britain, should presume to teach or preach in any assembly of negroes or people of colour; if the offender were a freeman, he was to be kept at hard labour in the workhouse one month for the first offence, and six months for every repetition of it; if he were a slave, he was, for the first offence, to suffer the same penalty as a free man, and for every subsequent violation of the law, was to be sentenced to a public whipping, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; any person knowingly permitting a meeting of slaves or people of colour on his premises, should incur a fine not exceeding £100, be committed to gaol until he paid it, and enter into such recognisances for his future good behaviour as the court should think proper." This prohibition was understood by the missionaries to apply only to those destitute of a license such as that required by the Act of Toleration in England. Mr Williams, a free man of colour, with two other local preachers, solicited a legal qualification from the justices at the quarter-sessions; but they were refused it. He was soon brought before the magistrates, and convicted of *singing and praying* in a

meeting of negroes. The offence, if such it was to be deemed, certainly did not come within the terms of the enactment recorded above; yet the prisoner was sentenced to a month's labour in the workhouse; where, however, he was kept confined without being required to perform any manual labour. The sentence was what the authorities termed *justice*; the remission was what they called *mercy*; impartial persons may think the title to either appellation very questionable. Shortly afterwards, Mr Campbell, one of the missionaries, was apprehended for preaching. The chief judge of the island held that his license, obtained in England, was sufficient to shelter him from the enactment; but the majority of the bench were of a different opinion, and he was sentenced to a month's imprisonment. After meeting with some further annoyance, he deemed it advisable to return to Britain in 1803. The iniquitous law, which had occasioned all the disquiet, was not ratified by the government at home; and thus the brethren were delivered from persecution in the disguise of equity. An increase of the congregations, an augmented seriousness of attention, and a wider diffusion of the gospel, were the consequences.

In the summer of 1807, the common council of Kingston passed an act, prohibiting all assemblies of negroes for worship before sunrise or after sunset; thus, on six days of the week, completely debarring them from all public means of grace. Another enactment forbade all methodist and dissenting preachers from instructing the slaves, under a penalty of £20 for every one convicted of the offence. This ordinance, however, was disallowed by the king in council. The enemies of religion nevertheless, contrived to throw obstacles in the way of the gospel, and succeeded in shutting up the methodist chapel for several years. It was reopened in December 1815 by Mr John Shipman, who, after several fruitless applications, obtained a license to preach. One of the missionaries, about this time, says,—“During the last Christmas, there was not a drum heard,

nor any of the old heathenish sports carried on ; but all spent the holidays in a rational manner, in the worship of God. It is also worthy of observation, that, instead of singing their old negro songs in the field, the slaves now sing our hymns ; and I was much pleased one night, when passing the negro houses, to hear them engaged fervently in prayer."

In a late report, the Wesleyan directors say,—“ We again repeat the expression of our joyous and grateful persuasion, that our negro societies, *very generally*, have hitherto done honour to their religious profession, and will continue to exhibit an example of orderly and peaceable conduct to all around them. The desire of the negroes to hear the word of God, and to be taught the holy scriptures, is truly delightful.”

In 1788, Dr Coke visited Barbadoes, where he stationed Mr Pearce. The negroes appeared less prepared for the reception of the gospel than those of any other West India island. But the zeal and perseverance of the missionary triumphed over all obstacles ; and he was rewarded with manifest tokens of favour from the Most High. In proportion, however, as the work of God advanced, it met with strenuous opposition from the irreligious. Some planters compelled their slaves to desist from attending public worship : and the chapel was, on various occasions, entered by parties of ill-disposed persons, who interrupted the service, testifying their utter destitution of all manly or religious feeling. A magistrate, when applied to for redress, said,—“ The offence was committed against Almighty God ; it therefore does not belong to me to punish !” Mr Lumb, who took charge of the station in 1791, was no better treated than his predecessor. Others followed ; but the mission, which was by no means in a thriving condition, was discontinued for a time in 1798. The first stated labourer who resumed the work was Mr Bradnock, who went out in 1804. Though a certain degree of revival took place under him, yet the congregations were but small ; and serious

thoughts were again entertained of relinquishing the attempt.

An insurrection which broke out in 1816 was imputed to the labours of the Wesleyans; but the absurdity of this charge is demonstrated by the fact that, out of a population of 70,000, there were not more than thirty-six members of the methodist connexion. In 1821, Mr Shrewsbury, who was stationed at Barbadoes, informed the society that the aspect of affairs was brightening; but, next year, a very different scene was presented to his view. His zealous labours for the dissemination of the truth awakened the opposition of the godless, who, after various violent proceedings, by which he was much annoyed and his congregation disturbed, proceeded to a degree of wickedness which could scarcely have been imagined beforehand. He himself thus describes what followed:—"In the course of the week, circulars had been issued by a secret committee, which proposed to pull down the methodist chapel the next *Sunday* evening, requesting the concurrence of the individual to whom it was sent. No signatures were affixed that might discover names, but certain letters of the alphabet, which were understood by the parties. Accordingly, on Sunday evening, by six o'clock, they began to muster, bringing with them carpenters and masons, with hammers, saws, hatchets, crows, and every other necessary implement; and, before seven, they burst open the chapel gate and doors, and fell to work till they had demolished lamps, benches, pews, and pulpit, and left nothing but the bare walls. They next went up stairs into the dwelling-house, broke open the windows and doors, threw out the crockery ware, chopped up tables, chairs, and every article of furniture, tore up my library, consisting of more than 300 volumes, besides some manuscripts of great importance to me; and began to unroof the house, which, when they had partly done, they made flags of such linen as they found, and gave three cheers; when they proceeded to demolish the roof, and break down

walls, as far as the dwelling-house floor. In fact, a 150 to 200 men were employed in this iniquitous work from seven in the evening till after one in the morning (it being full moon), besides an immense crowd of spectators, without the least attempt being made to check them either by the civil or military authorities!" The missionary and his wife were obliged to leave the island, from fear of personal violence, and fled for St Vincent's. Sir Henry Warde, the governor, issued a proclamation, offering a reward of £100 for the conviction of the offenders. A counter proclamation was published by the rioters, threatening that every informer would meet the punishment he deserved. These "sworn enemies to sense and law" also asserted, that the persons who had destroyed the Wesleyan chapel were not a rabble, but "*individuals of the first respectability!!!*"

This disgraceful outrage was brought under the notice of the House of Commons by Sir T. F. Buxton in June 1825. The house, on the motion of Mr Caning, then colonial secretary, adopted a resolution which strongly condemned the conduct of the Barbadoes rioters, and expressed a determination to co-operate with his majesty's government in every measure deemed necessary to protect British subjects in the West Indies in the full privileges of toleration. The mission was not resumed till 1826; and, since that time, it has received the divine blessing.

The Wesleyans have established teachers in several other West India islands, the particulars of which our limits will not allow us to state. In 1816, two brethren were sent to Port-au-Prince, the capital of Hayti. For some time, they had great reason to be satisfied with the reception they met with, and the attention manifested to their instructions. In the end of 1818, however, they were obliged to leave the island, on account of the opposition which evil-minded persons had stirred up against them. Boyer, the president of the republic, who had shown himself friendly to the cause, addressed a letter to the committee of the Methodist Missionary Society,

in which he expressed his sense of the benefit they desired to confer upon his fellow-citizens ; adding,—“ I regret that Mr Brown could not be prevailed upon to accept any remuneration for his labours ; but I purpose to have the pleasure of sending, without fail, to your respectable society, by a bill of exchange, a donation which I entreat you to accept.” This gift amounted to £500.

The missionaries left behind them a small but devoted society of converts, which was exposed to much persecution, instigated by the Romish priests, who dreaded the influence of a purer faith. The grace of God enabled the believers to hold fast their profession without wavering ; and, at length, the storm of opposition ceased. European missionaries have again occupied the station ; a chapel has been built at Port-au-Prince ; and it is hoped that the spirit of inquiry and attention which has been awakened may spread, until the extensive island of Hayti be leavened with its wholesome influence.*

The London Missionary Society has for some years maintained active operations in Jamaica. There are fourteen stations, with twenty-two labourers, including one or two native assistants. The largest church consists of about sixty members.

The first baptist teacher in that island appears to have been a mulatto named Moses baker, who afterwards applied for aid to the missionary society of his communion, which has operated there nearly thirty years. The ministers of this connexion have suffered a great deal from the ill-will of irreligious persons, who forgot all the decencies of civilized society in their opposition to the instruction of the slaves. Instead of dwelling upon these melancholy instances of unchristian conduct, we shall rather quote some cases of the benefit received by the negroes from their faithful teachers. “ A slave wished his owner to give him permission to attend with God’s people to pray ; his answer

* Coke’s History of the West Indies. Missionary Records : West Indies.

was, 'No; I will rather sell you to any one who will buy you.'—'Will you suffer me to buy myself free, if me can?'—'If you do, you shall pay dearly for your freedom; as you are going to pray, £250 is your price.'—'Well, massa,' said the negro, who knew that the common price for a slave was £140, 'it a great deal of money; but me *must pray*; if God will help me, me will try and pay you.' He has been a long time working hard, and at last sold all he and his wife had, except his blanket, to purchase liberty to pray in public, or, in other words, to meet with those who love Jesus Christ." "One old man was asked if he ever prayed. His reply was, 'Yes, massa: how can me live without pray?'—'Many do live,' it was remarked, 'who never pray; and you once did not pray.'—'Yes, massa; but since me know myself, me no able to live if me do not pray.'—'I am glad to hear you say so: well, you can make me hear what you say when you pray to God.'—'Yes, massa wish it!'—'I shall be glad to hear.' Here he stands before my vision still; his hands lifted up and clasped in each other, his wrinkled and tattooed face looking towards the holy dwelling-place of God, his eyes shut, and his tongue most devoutly telling Him who hears prayer, that he is a poor *neger*, and did not know how to speak to one Great God who made all *tings*. 'But do, do, Great God, cut de string of dy poor neger's dumb tongue, dat him may speak de trut (truth). Open him blind eye, dat him may see into him own heart! Lord! open him deaf ear, an take Jesus, de Son of God, into him heart. O Lord, dy poor neger come to dee; neber let him go again; hold him fast, hold him fast, good Lord, for Jesus' sake!'"

The Scottish Missionary Society supports several preachers in Jamaica. Their labours for the benefit of the injured Africans have been so much blessed by God, that the spiritual and temporal welfare of the negroes under their care have greatly advanced.*

* Missionary Records: West Indies.

In the year 1734, Bishop Spangenberg, of the Moravian Church, passed through Holland; and having had several consultations with the directors of the Dutch Trading Company for Surinam, it was agreed that the brethren should form one or more stations in that country for the conversion of the heathen. In June 1738, L. C. Dachne and J. Guettner sailed for South America, and arrived at Berbice in the ensuing September. After encountering some difficulties, a gentleman belonging to the company offered them a quiet residence on his estate, situated about 100 miles from the seacoast, and called Pilgerhut. Two other evangelists, with their wives, went out soon after. A further accession of numbers was received in consequence of the failure of a mission established in another part of the country. Their principal attention was directed to the aborigines, or Indians, in whose districts they travelled far and wide. "They were obliged to carry their provisions with them, wade through broad and deep rivers, or hastily construct a raft to cross them, and often to spend the night in the forests, sleeping in their hammocks suspended from trees." A mulatto boy, given to them by a planter, enabled them to acquire a correct knowledge of the Arawak tongue, and becoming truly pious, assisted them greatly by speaking to the natives. In March 1748, the first Arawak was baptized, an old woman, decrepit with age, and hardly able to walk. By the end of June, thirty-nine had been admitted into the visible church. Most of the converts went to reside in the vicinity of the brethren, who were thus enabled better to superintend them.

The directors deemed it advisable to appoint a man of learning as superintendent of the mission, and made choice of T. S. Schuman, "late a tutor in the Protestant Cloister of Bergen in Saxony." In the course of a year, he attained such proficiency in the language that he could translate several portions of the Bible, and converse with the natives without an interpreter. After labouring twelve years, he died in October 1760.

In 1750, the brethren were gratified by receiving a visit from some savages, who lived near the Spanish settlements on the Orinoco, and who had been induced by the representations of a christian Indian to undertake this long journey. In the sequel, several others from that remote quarter were converted, and took up their abode with the teachers, who say, "they have left a district where they had abundance of provisions, and now are satisfied with a very small pittance, that they may daily hear of Jesus." A member of the congregation thus expressed himself:—"I love my Creator with my whole heart, and I rejoice that when I leave this earth I shall go to him, and worship at his feet, who hath washed me from my sins in his own blood. He gives me eternal life. He knows my heart. I had gone astray from him; but he appeared and took away my polluted, evil, and flinty heart, and gave me a heart of flesh; for his blood hath purified and softened it. It remains indelibly impressed on my mind that he hath shed his blood for me. He hath granted me the grace that I can leave this world in assured hope, and full of joy go to him and behold him as he is." Several converts were now able to assist, by exhorting and preaching to their countrymen.

In 1759, an epidemic broke out in the congregation, and carried off about forty of them. As many abandoned the station, divine service was often attended by no more than ten or twelve persons. A scarcity of provisions augmented the distress: it continued during the next season, and for months the Indians had nothing to sustain life but wild roots and fruits. In consequence of this, Pilgerhut was almost deserted; and at the end of 1762 it contained only twenty-two inhabitants, instead of 400, its former amount. The following year the teachers themselves were obliged to evacuate the settlement, in order to escape the fury of a band of negroes who had risen in rebellion. They lost property to a considerable value; but regretted nothing so much as the destruction of an Arawak grammar and dictionary, compiled with great labour by Mr Schuman.

enjoy many happy days with our small congregation of believing free negroes. Our Saviour leads them to more steadfast faith in his precious atonement, and grants them a gradual increase in the knowledge of themselves and of his great love to sinners."

For several years nothing material occurred in the affairs of this body ; but in 1810, the brethren began to be afraid that the evil influence of the heathen upon their congregation would oblige them to relinquish it. They thus wrote :—" We find but few, and those chiefly among the old people, who are to be depended upon as sincere and faithful to their convictions." However, the aspect of things brightened, and they resolved to continue at their post.

A mission was commenced in Paramaribo among the slaves, and was attended with some success. In July 1776, the first negro was admitted into the church, and in the following month, seven others followed. At the end of 1779, the congregation consisted of 101, besides forty who were receiving special instruction, as candidates for baptism. A mulatto boy, only sixteen years old, had been christened. This was made known to his master, a Jew, who threatened to have him bound and flogged. He said, " That you may do ; but you cannot thereby rob me of the Lord Jesus, and the grace he hath imparted to me in these days." By the interference of an attorney, who had hired him, the Israelite was prevented from doing him any injury. In 1800, the baptized negroes amounted to 315, besides a considerable number of catechumens and regular hearers at the brethren's chapel. Some years afterwards, they were much benefited by a generous donation of Bibles and Testaments bestowed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. At the same time the directors published for the use of the children a Summary of Christian Doctrine in Negro-English. The Dutch government, in 1785, consigned to the Moravian labourers a piece of land on the river Commewyne, where a fortification had formerly stood, called Sommelsdyke. They spent much

time and money in clearing and draining this place before they could erect the necessary buildings. The two teachers, Haidt and Clausen, who first occupied this settlement, were soon cut off by the climate. Mr and Mrs Wiez arrived in September 1786 from Bam-bey. Before the end of the year above forty had been baptized, and the number of catechumens amounted to more than 150. Considerable opposition was experienced from various proprietors of estates; and the upsetting of a boat returning from Sommelsdyke, by which three women were drowned, increased the unwillingness of these persons to allow their slaves to go to church. In spite of all enmity, however, the work of conversion continued to go on; and though the brethren could not bear witness to any very remarkable outpourings of the Spirit, yet they were by no means left without testimony that the Lord blessed their labours to the salvation of souls.*

In Surinam, there were, at the close of 1840, four stations, Paramaribo, Charlottenburg, Worsteling Jacobs, and Salem on the Nickery, the last three founded within a few years. There were twenty-four mission-aries, with 6671 negroes, of whom 1400 were communicants. It is remarked in the report for 1840, "the work is continually on the increase, and new plantations are from time to time thrown open to the reception of the gospel."

* Holmes, p. 232-292.

CHAPTER XIII.

Missions to Polynesia.

London Missionary Society—Voyage of the Duff—Tahiti—Missionaries long unsuccessful—Pomare—He embraces Christianity, and defeats his Pagan Adversaries—Profession of the Gospel general—Prayer of Pomare—Tamatea, Chief of Raiatea—Printing-press established—European Arts introduced—Elevation of the Female Sex—Speech of a Raiatean Chief—Royal Mission Chapel—Tahitian Sabbath—Baptism and the Lord's Supper—Deacons—Codes of Law—Tattooing and Toaroarii—Death of Pomare and his Son—Queen of Tahiti—Recent Events in the Georgian and Society Islands—Rurutoo—Aitutaki—Rarotonga.

THE voyages of Captains Wallis and Cook first made the British nation acquainted with the existence of the insular groups whose evangelisation it is our present object to trace. The attention of the public was arrested by the accounts given of the fine climate, romantic scenery, and fertile soil, which undoubtedly distinguished these islands of the Pacific; and infidelity seemed to find, in the description of the gentleness said to mark their polytheistic inhabitants, a proof that the knowledge of the gospel was by no means indispensable to human felicity. Subsequent and more accurate observations have evinced that, in the language of Cowper, even the extolled Tahitians could "boast but little virtue," as their social history presented scarcely any thing better than alternations of warlike fury and Sybarite profligacy. Idolatry there, as well as in other lands, degraded its dupes and oppressed its victims; its influence was felt in the most trivial acts of that life, of

which it often abridged the comforts, and not unfrequently shortened the period. Infanticide, self-mutilation, the offering of human sacrifices, were some of its most horrible manifestations; while indirectly it wounded political happiness by sanctioning the atrocities of war, in which age or sex formed no protection to the hapless relatives of the vanquished. Even previously to the narratives of subsequent writers, the analogy of other pagan nations might have taught Britons to estimate very low the morality and happiness of the newly discovered regions. The christian poet to whom we have alluded proceeds to say,—

“ These therefore I can pity, placed remote
From all that science traces, art invents,
Or inspiration teaches ;”

and, after referring to the gloomy reflections likely to arise in the mind of the islander who had been brought on a short visit to England, he concludes by expressing his despair of any lasting benefit accruing to the groups of the Pacific from their discovery by English nautical skill :—

“ Doing good,
Disinterested good, is not our trade.
We travel far, ’tis true, but not for nought ;
And must be bribed to compass earth again
By other hopes and richer fruits than yours.”*

The bard has here somewhat overrated the influence of that contemporary irreligion which he has so powerfully depicted, alike in its lighter follies and its graver crimes, in its supercilious contempt for spiritual truth, and its miserable perversions of scripture to favour unchristian error. A few years after those lines were penned, that evangelism, of which Cowper was so remarkable a trophy and so vigorous a defender, had embraced in its thoughts and deeds the islands of the Pacific; and, before the poet rendered back his spirit to God, if reason had re-

* Task, book i.

tained its sway, he might have rejoiced to see his anticipation disappointed, and applied to the Duff his own words in another of his pieces :—

“ Let nothing adverse, nothing unforeseen,
Impede the bark that ploughs the deep serene,
Charged with a freight transcending in its worth
The gems of India, Nature’s rarest birth,
That flies, like Gabriel on his Lord’s commands,
A herald of God’s love to pagan lands.”*

The London Missionary Society was instituted in 1795 ; and the first quarter to which its directors turned their regard was Polynesia. At a general meeting, the following resolution was adopted :—“ That a mission be undertaken to Otaheite, the Friendly Islands, the Marquesas, the Sandwich, and the Pellew Islands, in a ship belonging to the Society, to be commanded by Captain Wilson, as far as may be practicable and expedient.”†

On the 23d of September 1796, the Duff set sail from Portsmouth. The missionaries were thirty in number, exclusive of six females ; four, Messrs Cover, Eyre, Jefferson, and Lewis, were ministers, and the rest artisans or tradesmen of various occupations, who might instruct the natives in the arts of civilisation, as well as in the truths of the gospel. During their voyage, they appointed a committee, who drew up articles of belief, taken from the Westminster Confession of Faith, which were subscribed by the whole company. It was determined to limit their efforts to the Society, Friendly, and Marquesan groups ; and eighteen male, with five female labourers, were destined to Tahiti.

On the 7th of March 1797, the brethren went on shore at that island, and were kindly received by the

* Charity.

† Mr Williams justly remarks, “ the discovery of so many beautiful islands just before that wonderful period, when, amidst the throes of kingdoms and the convulsions of the civilized world, a gracious influence was simultaneously shed in so surprising a way on the minds of thousands of British Christians, cannot fail to convince every thinking person that the undertaking was of God.”

late king, Pomare, then called Otoo, and Tetua his wife. They were conducted to a large, oval-shaped native house, recently built for Captain Bligh, who was expected to return. Not long after, the chiefs and people cheerfully ceded to them the whole district of Matavai, in which their habitation was situated. The principal persons present on this occasion were Pomare the king, his son Otoo, and Hamanemane, the high-priest. The natives, however, considered the missionaries merely as tenants at will.

As all the ministers were to remain at Tahiti, the brethren destined to the Friendly Islands chose Mr Kelso as their pastor ; and he, with Mr Harris, intended for the Marquesas, were ordained by imposition of hands on the 19th of March. In the journal of the voyage we find the following statement :—" The communion closed the solemnity, which was to us all a most refreshing and comfortable ordinance ; and, for the first time, the bread-fruit of Otaheite was used as the symbol of the broken body of our Lord, and received in commemoration of his dying love." After leaving Tahiti, the Duff proceeded to the Friendly Islands and Marquesas. At the former, the full complement of missionaries was landed ; at the latter, only Mr Crook, his intended colleague Mr Harris declining to be left, on account of his distrust of the people. Captain Wilson then returned to Tahiti, where he found the teachers comfortably established. On his second visit to Tongataboo, the same gratifying reception seemed to have been accorded to those who had been stationed there ; and he then sailed for England, which he reached on the 11th of July 1798.*

The acquaintance of the missionaries with the most useful mechanic arts delighted the natives of Tahiti, and raised them in their estimation. " Pomare, entering one day when the blacksmith was employed, after gazing a few minutes at the work, was so transported at what he saw, that he caught up the smith in his arms,

* *Missionary Voyage of the Duff.* Williams' *Missionary Enterprises in the South Seas*, chap. i.

and, unmindful of the dirt and perspiration inseparable from his occupation, most cordially embraced him, and saluted him, according to the custom of his country, by touching noses." The brethren made every effort to acquire the language, which they found had been mistaken by the previous visitors as to spelling, pronunciation, and ease of acquisition. In their early communications with the inhabitants, they availed themselves of the aid of Peter Haggerstein, a Swede who had resided some time on the island; but his want of education and bad principles soon suggested the propriety of limiting their intercourse with him to things absolutely necessary. They found considerable advantage in a small vocabulary compiled by one of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, who had given it to the clergyman by whom he was attended previously to his execution at Portsmouth. The natives willingly afforded every assistance in the acquisition of their tongue, which was the first Polynesian dialect ever committed to writing. The missionaries, adhering as closely as possible to the local pronunciation, were often obliged to depart from the mode of spelling to which Europeans had become accustomed. This they did reluctantly; and the necessity of the case unquestionably exempts them from the charge of affectation, which has been sometimes advanced.

In March 1798, the *Nautilus* from Macao, commanded by Captain Bishop, arrived at Tahiti, driven thither by stress of weather. She was supplied with provisions by the brethren, who likewise sent four of their number to the district of Pare, in order to obtain from the king and principal chiefs the delivery of two seamen who had absconded. Otoo gave them a sullen reception; and it is supposed that he was the instigator of an attack made upon them as they were proceeding to the residence of his father. They were stripped, beaten, and threatened with death. When Pomare was informed of this treatment, he expressed his regret, caused such articles of dress as could be recovered to be restored, and furnished them with a double canoe for their conveyance home.

This unpleasant occurrence produced such an impression upon the society at Matavai, that eleven missionaries, including four who were married, prepared for their departure in the *Nautilus* to Port Jackson. Pomare, who had always been most friendly, urgently entreated them to stay. He testified great satisfaction when he found that Mr and Mrs Eyre, with five of the single men, determined to remain in his island.

The brethren had uniformly received kindness from Hamanemane, the high-priest, a man of great talent and influence, but covetous, cruel, profligate, and ambitious. Believing him to be a dangerous rival, Pomare caused him to be assassinated in December 1798. Nearly a twelvemonth afterwards, the same fate overtook the Rev. Thomas Lewis, who had some time before separated from his brethren, on the occasion of his marriage with a native woman. In every respect, they were deeply affected with this first breach in their number. In the following year, they erected a chapel, the first building ever reared in Polynesia to the worship of Almighty God. They were joined by Mr and Mrs Henry, who had gone to Sydney, and now returned to the sphere of their labours. They rejoiced to hear from them that the *Duff* was again on her way to Tahiti, with a reinforcement of preachers, and a supply of various articles which they greatly needed. But, in December, their hopes were destroyed by the arrival of the *Albion*, whose captain informed them that the expected ship had been captured by a French privateer. At the same time, a letter from Mr Harris, who was settled in Norfolk Island, acquainted them that three of the brethren sent to the Friendly Islands had been murdered, and that the rest had fled to Port Jackson. In the following June, the Royal Admiral, commanded by Captain W. Wilson, nephew of the gentleman who had brought them to Polynesia, anchored in Matavai Bay, with eight missionaries and requisite supplies on board. On his departure, he carried with him Mr Broomhall, who, after four years' service, had been separated from the

communion of his brethren on account of his avowed deistical sentiments. After trading some years in the Indian seas, he, it is believed, became a sincere penitent, and was on the point of returning to Tahiti, when he perished by shipwreck.

The first band of labourers being now able to preach in the native language, in March 1802, Messrs Nott and Elder made a missionary tour through Tahiti. They were generally well received, and listened to with attention. During the same year, the brethren were providentially saved from the fury of a rebellion which broke out. In the space of about a twelvemonth, the royal family suffered some severe losses in the deaths of Pomare, his father Teu, and his son Teariनावohoroa. The king was justly considered the main prop of idolatry, and, though kind to the English, uniformly expressed his decided aversion to their religion. Possessed of great strength, activity, perseverance, and ambition, from being merely a chief of the district of Pare, he had acquired the supreme authority in the island. At his death he was between fifty and sixty. Otoo now assumed his father's name, and thus became Pomare II. In 1806, he lost his queen, who died at the age of twenty-four. He was left not merely a widower, but childless; all the offspring of his wife having been destroyed. Nothing remarkable occurred among the brethren until the death of Mr Jefferson, who entered into his rest in September 1807, having laboured ten years without any apparent success.

Pomare's conduct had in various respects proved satisfactory to a number of his subjects; and, in November 1808, a rebellion broke out, which was headed by Taute, a powerful chief, who had long been prime-minister. The king looked upon his defection with feelings of alarm, similar to those with which David contemplated the treachery of Ahithophel. A vessel from Sydney being at this time in Matavai Bay, most of the missionaries availed themselves of it to repair to the island of Huaheine, where they were hospitably re-

ceived by the chiefs and people. Four only remained with the sovereign ; and these, upon his defeat by the rebels in December, fled with him to Eimeo. Some months afterwards, three of them followed their companions ; the mission houses being plundered and burnt by the insurgents. The melancholy aspect of affairs induced the brethren to remove to Port Jackson, with two exceptions ; namely, Mr Hayward, who remained in Huaheine, and Mr Nott, who continued to reside in Eimeo with the king. Although they had preached the gospel several years constantly in Tahiti, and occasionally in most of the other islands, there was no individual whom they could regard as savingly impressed with divine truth.

While in New South Wales, the brethren, having received from Pomare the most urgent requests to return, again embarked for his residence in the autumn of 1811. They were joyfully received by the king, who had, during their absence, continued an exile in Eimeo. He now showed a great interest in religion, spending much of his time in inquiries relative to the truths of Christianity. A few other natives also appeared favourably impressed with regard to the gospel.

In 1812, three members of the mission finished their mortal course, Mrs Henry, Mrs Davies, and Mrs Hayward. But, amidst these afflicting events, other circumstances occurred of a cheering nature. In July, Pomare publicly professed his belief in the true God, and his determination to serve him ;* at the same time requesting baptism, which, however, the missionaries proposed to defer until he had received more ample instruction. He acquiesced in the propriety of this resolution. In the meanwhile, he used his influence with Tamatoa and Mahine, the chiefs of Raiatea and Huaheine, to induce them to adopt the evangelical faith. He was closely connected with the former prince, having married his daughter. Being urged to return to Tahiti by

* He tested the power of the idols by partaking of a turtle, without offering, as was usual, a portion to them.

a portion of its inhabitants, he sailed for that island; keeping up correspondence by letter with the missionaries, and amidst all temptations continuing steadfast in the profession of the gospel. In June 1813, Messrs Scott and Hayward were deputed by their companions to visit Tahiti, where they understood that some had renounced idolatry. On the morning after his arrival, the former went out to seek a place for meditation and devotion. While employed in the search, he heard a voice at no great distance, and, approaching the spot, listened with delight to the accents of prayer issuing from the lips of a native, who was unconscious that he was observed by any but his Maker. This person was Oito, who had been awakened to serious thought by some remarks of Pomare. He, with Tuahine, another native, frequently met for the purposes of conference and supplication. With a few young men and boys, they had bound themselves to abjure idolatry and other evil practices, to observe the Lord's day, and to worship God alone. They often assembled on the Sabbath and at other times for social worship. This small but interesting band returned with Messrs Hayward and Scott to Eimeo, in order to receive fuller instruction in those truths, of which they now felt the real importance.

On the 25th of July 1813, a chapel was opened for divine service in Eimeo. On the following day, a public meeting was held, at which thirty-one natives gave in their names as persons who had renounced polytheism, and desired to become disciples of Christ. Eleven others soon followed, among whom were Toaroarii, the young ruler of Huaheine, and Matapreupuu, chief priest of the same island. Not long after, Mahine, the father of the former, became a sincere convert. A decisive act was ventured upon by Patii, priest of the temple in Papetoai, the district in which the missionaries resided. On a point of land in the western part of that region he piled a large quantity of fuel, and ordered his attendants to set it on fire. He then brought out the idols, which "were small carved wooden images, rude imita-

tions of the human figure ; or shapeless logs of wood, covered with finely braided and curiously wrought cinet of cocoa-nut fibres, and ornamented with red feathers." He threw them one by one into the flames, expressing his repentance for having worshipped them, and calling upon the spectators to observe their inability to help themselves. This deed, which, considering the circumstances, we may well term heroic, was witnessed not only by the missionaries and their adherents (about fifty in number), but likewise by a large multitude of idolaters, who expected that sudden vengeance from their gods would overtake the audacious apostate. The good providence of the Almighty, however, preserved the little band of believers from any injury ; for had the heathens been inclined to bloodshed, they might easily have cut off the whole congregation. The godly consistency afterwards evinced by Patii, proves that he was animated on this occasion by a real desire to undeceive his countrymen, and not by any spirit of rash and reckless bravado.

On the 2d of December in the same year, Mui, one of the first professors of Christianity, departed to the world of spirits ; his last days were cheered by the consolations of the gospel. The missionaries continued to rejoice over the conduct of their little flock, who were regular in the observance of public and private devotion. They received from their adversaries the name of Bure Atua, *i. e.* Prayers to God.

After an absence of two years, spent in vainly endeavouring to recover his authority in Tahiti, Pomare returned to Eimeo in the autumn of 1814, accompanied by a large train of attendants, all of whom professed Christianity. At the close of that season, 300 hearers regularly attended the preaching of the gospel. About the same time, the missionaries opportunely received 400 copies of their abridgment of the New Testament, and 1000 copies of small elementary books, which had been printed in New South Wales. The heathens ridiculed the conduct of those who professed to believe

in Christ ; and on more than one occasion proceeded to violence and murder.

In Tahiti, as well as in Eimeo, a number of the natives had embraced the worship of Jehovah, and thus awakened the resentment and opposition of those devoted to idolatry. Apprehensive that the new faith would triumph, if no measures were adopted to check its progress, the heathens formed a conspiracy to assassinate every one of the Bure Atua. The night of the 7th July was fixed upon for this atrocious deed ; but only a few hours before the appointed time, the intended victims, receiving secret intelligence of the plot, instantly launched their canoes and hurried on board, reaching Eimeo on the following morning. Their enemies had to assemble from different quarters, and some of them from considerable distances ; and when they found, on their arrival at the rendezvous, that their prey had escaped them, they quarrelled among themselves, filling the district with blood and devastation.

Under an impression that a crisis was approaching in reference to the supremacy of Christianity or Paganism, the missionaries set apart the 14th July 1815 as a day of solemn fasting and prayer to God for guidance. Soon after, in consequence of an invitation from the heathen chiefs, Pomare and the christian refugees passed over to Tahiti, where for a time negotiations proceeded, having as their object the restoration of peace between the opposed parties. In these deliberations, however, the idolaters were insincere, and they were merely watching an opportunity to cut off both the king and his adherents.*

The 12th of November was a Sabbath ; and in the forenoon Pomare, with his people, in number about 800, assembled for public worship at a place called Narii, in the district of Atahuru. As the service was about to commence, a firing of muskets was heard, and, looking out of the building in which they were

* The heathen party had sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Toopoa, the greatest warrior in the islands.

ngregated, the Christians beheld a large body of armed men, attended by the flag of the gods, and other emblems of idolatry, marching round a distant point of land, and advancing towards them. The king, reminding his people that they were under the protection of the Lord of Hosts, commanded that the service should proceed ; after which, he formed his troops in order of battle. He had under his command not merely people from Tahiti and Eimeo, but likewise some auxiliaries from the adjoining islands, commanded by Mahine, chief of Huaheine, and Pomarevahine, daughter of the chief of Raiatea. Stationing himself in a canoe with a company of musketeers, he annoyed the flank of the enemy nearest the sea ; while in another there was a whivel, directed by an Englishman, called Joe by the natives, which did considerable execution.

The impetuous onset of the idolatrous army obliged the vanguard of the Christians to give way after a stout resistance. The assailants pursued their advantage until they were arrested by the troops commanded by Mahine and his Amazon coadjutor, who firmly maintained their ground. The ardour which had animated the pagans while victory seemed likely to follow their attack, was considerably diminished ; but the fortune of the day was finally determined by the death of Upufara, chief of Papara, and general of the heathen forces. He was shot by Raheae, one of Mahine's followers ; and his men in consequence gave way. Flushed with success, the king's warriors were preparing to pursue their fleeing enemy, when he himself came up, and exclaimed, Atira ! It is enough ! strictly forbidding them to injure either the families or property of the vanquished. In the evening he assembled his followers, and returned thanks to God for the protection which had been extended to them in the hour of battle. A chosen band was despatched to the national temple at Tautira, in the district of Taiarabu, with orders to destroy every vestige of superstition there. This party accomplished their commission without resistance ; and, after demol-

ishing the fane and burning the other appendages of image-worship, they brought back to the camp the great idol, called by the Tahitians "the body of Oro." Mr Ellis says "it was subsequently fixed up as a post in the king's kitchen, and used in a most contemptuous manner, by having baskets of food suspended from it; and finally it was riven up for fuel."

The humanity shown by Pomare after his victory had the desired effect upon the Tahitians, not merely disposing them to submit to his authority, but inclining them to think favourably of the religion adopted by him. In a short time the profession of Christianity became general; and though we cannot suppose that all who acquiesced in it were really converted, they at least observed the evangelical ordinances, and abstained from pagan abominations. For some time there was no missionary in Tahiti to give them religious instruction; this was to a certain extent performed by natives who had been taught at Eimeo by the brethren. They were now accustomed to meet on the Sabbath for sacred exercises, consisting of praise, reading, and prayer. Mr Ellis has given a translation of one of Pomare's prayers, which he supposes to have been written at this period. It is as follows:—"Jehovah, thou God of our salvation, hear our prayers, pardon thou our sins, and save our souls. Our sins are great, and more in number than the fishes in the sea, and our obstinacy has been very great, and without parallel. Turn thou us to thyself, and enable us to cast off every evil way. Lead us to Jesus Christ, and let our sins be cleansed in his blood. Grant us thy good Spirit to be our sanctifier. Save us from hypocrisy. Suffer us not to come to thine house with carelessness, and return to our own houses and commit sin. Unless thou have mercy upon us, we perish. Unless thou save us—unless we are prepared and made meet for thy habitation in heaven—we are banished to the fire—we die; but let us not be banished to that unknown world of fire. Save us through Jesus Christ, thy Son, the Prince of Life; yea, let us obtain

salvation through him. Bless all the inhabitants of these islands ; all the families thereof ; let every one stretch out his hands unto God, and say, Lord, save me ! Lord, save me ! Let all these islands, Tahiti, with all the people of Moorea, and of Huaheine, and of Raiatea, and of the little islands around, partake of thy salvation. Bless Britain, and every country in the world. Let thy word grow with speed in the world, so as to exceed the progress of evil. Be merciful to us and bless us, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen."*

Tamatoa, chief of Raiatea, whom his subjects had regarded as a divinity, was brought under the influence of the truth while on a visit to Pomare ; and, on his return to his dominions, informed his subjects of what had taken place at Tahiti, inviting them to follow the example set by their neighbours. About a third of the people agreed to this proposal. Shortly after this, the king was seized with a severe illness ; and when every effort to restore his health had failed, it was proposed by one of the Christians to destroy Oro, the great national idol, whose temple at Opoa, was a rendezvous for the heathens of many adjacent islands. This was accordingly done, in the hope that they might thereby conciliate the favour of God to their sovereign, who unquestionably recovered. The pagans, irritated by this bold step, resolved to attack the votaries of the new faith, whose proposals for peace were disdainfully rejected. The night before the assault was spent very differently by the two parties ; the heathens feasting, rioting, and exulting in the prospect of an easy victory, while the others were occupied in prayer and making the necessary preparations for defence. In consequence of a long shoal of sand which stretched from the place of the christian encampment, their enemies were obliged to land at about half a mile's distance ; and one of Tamatoa's best warriors requested leave to rush upon them with a chosen band, to assail them in the con-

* Ellis' *Polynesian Researches*, 2d Edition, vol. ii. p. 7-163. Tyerman and Bennet, chap. vi.

fusion of debarkation. Making a circuit behind the brushwood, that he might be unseen by the enemy, he attacked them ; and, after a brief struggle, they threw away their arms and fled. They expected to be butchered in cold blood, as had been usual in former wars. The conquerors, however, merely conducted those made prisoners into the presence of the prince, one of whose attendants assured them that they would not be molested. When the chief of Tahaa, who had acted as the leader, was brought before Tamatoa, he exclaimed, pale and trembling, "Am I dead?" The victor replied, "No, brother ; cease to tremble ; you have been preserved by Jesus." An entertainment was provided for the captives, who were so struck with the treatment they received, that they resolved to profess the religion of their conquerors. Within the space of three days, not a temple or idol remained in Raiatea or Tahaa.* About the same time, paganism was abolished in Huahine, Borabora, and other islands. The author of *Polynesian Researches* remarks, that "a change so important in its character, so rapid in its progress, so decisive in its influence, sublime almost in proportion to the feebleness of the agency by which it was, under God, accomplished, although effected on but a small tribe or people, is perhaps not exceeded in the history of nations or the revolutions of empires, that have so often altered the moral and civil aspect of our world."

Mr Ellis arrived at Eimeo in 1817, and soon after went to Afareitu, at some distance from Papetoai, the seat of the mission, in order to establish a second station and a printing-office. The greatest interest was manifested by the novelty which was now submitted to their notice. Pomare was instructed how to work off the first sheet, which he did with great delight. The earliest work executed was a spelling-book, of which 2600 copies were printed. This was followed by the *Tahitian Catechism* and a *Collection of Scripture Ex-*

* Williams' *Missionary Enterprises*, chap. xii. Tyerman and Bennet, chap. xxvi.

tracts. Next was the Gospel of Luke, in the composition of which Mr Nott was much aided by the king ;* of it nearly 3000 copies were made. The natives crowded to witness the wonderful work which was now going on among them ; and the greatest anxiety also prevailed to obtain a copy of the books, especially of the gospel. They came from the other islands in great numbers to procure these precious volumes ; and individuals, who were themselves unable to make the voyage, sent letters, requesting copies by the hand of their friends. They waited days, and even weeks, while the sheets were printing ; afraid, if they went away, that others would anticipate them in the possession of what they so highly valued. Allowing somewhat for the influence of mere curiosity, there is much to excite our warmest admiration in the conduct of these poor islanders.

In November 1817, a considerable reinforcement of missionaries arrived from England, among whom was the lamented Williams ; and the original station of Matavai was now, after an interval of several years, re-occupied. Three others in Tahiti were also taken possession of shortly after. Several of the teachers removed to Huaheine, the most windward of what are called the Society Islands ; carrying with them the large printing-press. They took up their quarters in the district of Fare, on the western side of the island. Being invited by Tamatoa, Mr Williams and another labourer crossed over to Raiatea.

Previous to the departure of these brethren from Eimeo, a missionary society had been formed there, at the institution of which the king delivered an energetic and impressive speech. A similar institution was established the same year at Huaheine. The contribution to be raised by members of these associations was cocoa-nut oil, the article which they could most easily procure. Besides ministering to their spiritual wants, the preachers endeavoured to promote the temporal interest

* Messrs Tyerman and Bennet were shown a copy of this version, executed by Pomare "in a very neat small hand."

of the people ; and they had the satisfaction of seeing industry, in many cases, take the place of that listless inaction to which all classes had formerly been tempted by the ease of procuring the necessaries of life. The directors of the parent society at home exerted themselves to foster the infant exertions of the islanders. They sent out some persons acquainted with different trades, to communicate practical skill to the natives of the Georgian and Society groups. In 1821, Mr Armitage, a native of Manchester, relinquished flattering prospects in his native land, in order to teach the natives how to spin and weave the cotton which they had cultivated. He had to contend with great difficulties at first, but by degrees overcame them. The sugar-cane has likewise been cultivated, and sugar made in sufficient quantity to supply the islands as well as the ships which occasionally touch at them.

The female sex in Polynesia, as in other uncivilized countries, was in a degraded state ; but the true faith elevated them to their due place in society. The wives of the missionaries were found valuable auxiliaries in the work of christianisation. By the institution of female schools, the visitation of the sick, and other employments suited to their sex, these excellent women proved of essential service. Mr Ellis states, " that they were constantly resorted to by their own sex for direction in almost every department of their domestic economy. All their usages had formerly been so interwoven with their superstitions, that the people stood in need of instruction in the ordinary transactions of life ; more especially in their treatment of children and their training them up for the Lord."* The education of the young was particularly attended to by the missionaries, who were, in general, well pleased with the progress made by their pupils. At an examination held in Raiatea, a venerable chief made an impressive speech, in which he brought into vivid contrast the past and

* Memoir of Mrs Ellis, pp. 52, 53.

present state of the nation. He said, "Large was my family, but I alone remain; all have died in the service of Satan,—they knew not this good word which I am spared to see: my heart is longing for them, and often says within me, Oh! that they had not died so soon! Great are my crimes. I am the father of nineteen children; *all of them have I murdered*; now my heart longs for them. Had they been spared, they would have been men and women, learning and knowing the word of the true God. But, while I was thus destroying them, no one, not even my own cousin (pointing to Tamatoa, the king, who presided at the meeting), stayed my hand, or said, Spare them. No one said, 'The good word, the true word is coming; spare your children;' and now my heart is repenting—is weeping for them."

Edifices for public worship were erected at every missionary station. The chapel at Fare in Huaheine was a hundred feet long and sixty feet wide; formed of wood, like all other buildings in those islands. But though very neat and convenient, it was far surpassed by the Royal Mission Chapel in Tahiti, which was 712 feet in length, and fifty-four in breadth. The centre of the roof was supported by thirty-six massy pillars of the wood of the bread-fruit tree. Light and air were admitted by 133 windows, furnished with sliding shutters; and the congregation entered or retired by twenty-nine doors. The edifice was covered with the leaves of the pandanus, enclosed with a strong and neat low *aumoa* or boarded fence; and the area within the enclosure was filled with basaltic pebbles or broken coral. The lowness of the roof, and the disproportion of the erection in other respects, prevented it from appearing stupendous or magnificent. The floor of the interior was covered, in the native fashion, with long grass, and, with the exception of a small space around each pulpit, was filled with plain but substantial seats. There were three pulpits, nearly 260 feet apart, strongly but not very elegantly constructed. This immense building was opened for public worship in May 1819, when about 7000 per-

sons assembled within its walls, and three sermons were preached to as many congregations at the same time. It is stated that no confusion was the result of this singular arrangement.

The following description of a Tahitian Sabbath is given by the Rev. C. S. Stewart, formerly an American missionary :—"Crowds of islanders, of every grade, were seen gathering beneath the thick shade of the trees covering the point to the same spot, all clad in neat and modest apparel, principally white, of their own or foreign manufacture ; and exhibiting, in their whole aspect, a dignity and respectability of character becoming a christian people. Almost every individual had in his hand a copy of the portions of the scripture translated into the language of the group, and a book of hymns. The chapel is a large and neat building, 110 feet long, and forty broad ; lofty, airy, and well finished in all its parts, and wholly of native workmanship. The number of worshippers amounted to about 400 ; the usual congregation at this place including almost entirely the population of the vicinity. The whole appearance of the people, their attention and seeming devotion during the exercises of reading the scriptures, singing, prayer, and preaching, was as markedly decorous as would be expected or seen in America or England, and such as to make a deep impression on my own mind. A single glance around was sufficient to convince the most sceptical observer of the success and benefit of missions to the heathen ; for it could not be made without meeting the plainest demonstration that such can be rescued from all the rudeness and wildness of their original condition—can be brought to a state of cleanliness and modesty in their personal appearance—can be taught to read and to write (for many, besides the intelligent and familiar use of the scriptures and their hymn-book, took notes in pencil of the sermon delivered) ; in a word, can be transformed into what civilisation and Christianity vouchsafe to man."*

* Visit to the South Seas, pp. 251, 252.

It may appear singular that the missionaries should have delayed the baptism of any of the islanders till some years after the gospel had been generally professed ; yet such was the case. Various circumstances contributed to this delay. On the 16th of July 1819, that sacred ordinance was first administered in Tahiti ; its subject was Pomare. Between 4000 and 5000 persons were present at the ceremony, which took place in the principal or Royal Chapel. The missionaries differed as to the proper recipients of this sacrament ; some thinking that there should be a distinct evidence of regeneration, while the majority believed that a profession of faith in Christ, accompanied with regularity and propriety of conduct, was all that could be demanded, the searching of the heart being left to God. It was, in the present case, agreed that each minister should act according to his convictions of duty. The children of professing Christians were admitted to baptism ; and parents, in general, manifested a strong desire to have their offspring admitted into the visible church. In 1820, the mission in the Windward Islands sustained a heavy loss in the deaths of Messrs Bicknell and Tessier ; the former was the first man who offered his services to the directors of the Missionary Society.

In the same year, the first celebration of the Lord's Supper took place. With regard to this ordinance, the missionaries adopted the views generally, we believe, prevailing among Congregationalists ; deeming that the office-bearers of a church have a right to make a strict examination into the real conversion of those who purpose to approach the Lord's table. It is well known that the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches have usually taken a different view of the question ; considering that it is sinful for ungodly persons to communicate, but that, after they have been suitably warned of their danger, and all due means have been used to keep back the scandalously wicked, the rest must be left to that great Being, who will finally punish the profaners of his ordinances. The present is not the

place to discuss a subject so well worthy of the gravest consideration.

The brethren introduced the order of deacons into the churches formed by them. They deemed it advisable to pass by the highest chiefs, even when they were unquestionably pious, from fear that their choice of them might be converted into a bad precedent. The individuals in question, much to their honour, appear to have acquiesced in the propriety of this arrangement. The few selected were proposed to the communicants for their approval; and they seem, by visiting the sick, and taking care of the temporal affairs of the church, to have in some measure combined the functions of the lay eldership and diaconate, as laid down in the standards of the Kirk of Scotland.

Pomare requested the advice of the missionaries in forming a code of laws for his country. Though unwilling to interfere with political affairs, they agreed to his request; and the regulations thus drawn up were approved by the people in an assembly convened for that purpose. Similar codes were, nearly at the same time, promulgated in the other islands. In them the wise, just, and benevolent character of the evangelical faith was decidedly evinced. The following are some of the enactments contained in the laws of Huaheine: the penalty for murder was transportation to an uninhabited island; for theft, a fourfold restitution; for breaking the Sabbath, working on the public roads; for rebellion, the same punishment as for murder; for seduction, hard labour. The same code introduced trial by jury.

Among the practices forbidden by the new laws was that of tattooing; a custom regarded as essentially connected with paganism. In 1821, it was discovered that forty-six young persons in Huaheine had been thus marking themselves. They were brought to trial, and sentenced to build a certain quantity of stone-work on the margin of the sea.*

* Hard labour was afterwards changed for scarifying the tattooed part, thus disfiguring what was reckoned beautiful.

Shortly afterwards, it being ascertained that Taaroarii, the king's only son, had been guilty of the same offence, he was condemned to a similar punishment. This unhappy youth had been a diligent pupil of the missionaries, who were thus led to conceive great hopes of him. He was, however, led astray by some abandoned persons, to whom his very social temper rendered him an easy prey. Having burst a blood-vessel during his period of hard labour—from over-exertion, as it is supposed—it was not long before symptoms of consumption appeared. Every means was employed for his cure, but without effect. His venerable father and the missionaries were constant in their attendance upon him, and unwearied in their efforts to direct him to the Redeemer; but he usually turned away from the contemplation of religious subjects. On the last day of his life, after Mr Ellis had addressed him on these momentous themes, the missionary adds, "He raised his head, and gazed steadfastly upon me, with an expression of anguish in his whole countenance which I never shall forget, and which is altogether indescribable. Whether it arose from bodily or mental agony, I am not able to say; but I never beheld so affecting a spectacle." On his tombstone was placed the brief inscription, "Taaroarii died October 25th, 1821." Such was the melancholy end of one to whom the gospel was made known with faithfulness and power; an awful warning to professors of religion, especially to the children of pious parents. When the good King of Huaheine contemplated his son's death, experimentally sensible as he was of the awful distinction which exists between those who are in Christ and those who are strangers to him, he must have in some measure participated in the feelings of David when he exclaimed, in words whose very brevity enhances their pathos, "O Absalom, my son! my son!"

In the same year died Pomare II., who expired on the 7th of December, in the forty-eighth year of his age. His last words were, "Jesus Christ alone," in answer to the religious conversation of Mr Crook,

who was paying him a pastoral visit. The king had been uniformly kind to the missionaries, one of whom thus wrote,—“He was a prince who never had an equal in these islands; the friend of all foreigners, and the protector of the missionaries. In knowledge of every kind he was among his countrymen unrivalled. Had he enjoyed the advantages of education, he would have attained to as high a degree of eminence as some of the greatest men have reached; and, with respect to myself, I have in his death sustained an irreparable loss, as he was so valuable an assistant in the work of translation.” It must, however, be remarked that his character had been by no means such as the brethren could approve; and perhaps he ought to be regarded in the same dubious light with which we are accustomed to contemplate the first christian emperor. Like Constantine, he bestowed many external benefits upon the professors of the gospel; and, if unhappily he was not himself savingly influenced by its truths, he is not the less to be viewed as an instrument in the Lord’s hand for good to his church. He was succeeded by his only son, Pomare III., then a mere infant, who was solemnly crowned in April 1824, and shortly afterwards placed at the South Sea Academy, an institution recently formed for the instruction of the islanders. His disposition was affectionate, and his progress encouraging; but all hopes which may have been formed were disappointed by his death, which occurred on the 11th of January 1827. He was only seven years of age. His successor was his sister Aimata, then about sixteen, who had been married in December 1822 to Pomare, the young chief of Tahaa. Her talents were considerable, but her disposition was volatile, and she would not submit to the drudgery inseparable from the acquirement of a thorough education. The regency, which had been appointed during her brother’s minority, still continued to act.*

* Ellis’ Polynesian Researches, vols ii. and iii.

One of the most valuable converts made by the missionaries in the South Seas was Tuahine, formerly mentioned as one of the first who embraced the gospel. He was for many years deacon of the church in Raiatea, where he rendered essential service to the preachers, by directing the inquiries of the new converts, and teaching in the schools. He likewise proved very useful in aiding the brethren in their versions of the scriptures. "Frequently," says Mr Williams, "has he sat eight or ten hours a-day aiding me in this important work; and to him are we in a great measure indebted for the correctness with which we have been enabled to give the oracles of truth to the people. When I was absent from home, he was left in charge of the station; and his addresses, which were most beautiful specimens of native eloquence, resembling more the mildness of a Barnabas than the thunder of a Boanerges, were exceedingly acceptable to the people. The neatness of his style, the correctness of his language, and the simplicity and beauty of his similes, never failed to rivet the attention of his hearers. He had also a surprising gift in prayer; many times have I listened with intense interest to the glowing language of devotion which flowed from his lips." He died in November 1827: and a day or two before he wrote to Mr Williams, then absent from the station on a missionary voyage, a letter, which contained these touching words:—"I have been endeavouring to lengthen out my breath to see you again; but I cannot; my hour is come, when God will take me to himself, and I cannot resist his will. And now, my dear friend, the great kindness you have shown me is at an end; your face will not see my face again in the flesh; you and I are separated. Dear friend, I am going now to the place we all so ardently desire."*

Some years ago, two men of influence among their countrymen, Teao, at Wilks' Harbour, and Hue, at

* Williams, chap. xi.

Burder's Point, led many of the people into error and sin ; teaching that the millennium was come—that moral evil no longer existed—that the force of the scriptural precepts had ceased—and that every one might live according to his own inclinations.

At the commencement of 1831, serious differences arose between the adherents of the Queen of Tahiti and the hereditary chiefs of the principal districts of the island, which were, however, adjusted by the interposition of the missionaries and the commander of the British ship *Comet*. In the same year Tamatoa, the venerable king of Raiatea, departed this life ; giving as a dying charge to his people, to preserve the purity of religion with jealous care. In 1833, a civil war was occasioned by the queen's marrying a second husband, in circumstances which the insurgents declared to be contrary to law. They were defeated, and the victors showed a moderation which had never been practised in the days of paganism. The increased intercourse with the crews of British and American vessels, and the importation of ardent spirits, especially of New England rum, proved injurious to the inhabitants. Drunkenness and vice began to be common ; the ordinances of religion were not attended so well as previously ; and the missionaries had to deplore the backsliding of several members of the church. Still, a considerable number adhered to the faith, and showed the reality of their religion by leading consistent lives. In the report of the Missionary Society for 1836, we find the following statement :—" The temporal state of the people in general may be considered prosperous, and the appearance of the stations, externally considered, has been encouraging ; but the brethren lament the worldly-mindedness which has prevailed, and the comparatively few indications among the people of the growth of piety, and the increase of the fruits of the Spirit, for which they have so arduously toiled and so fervently prayed." Soon after, a revival of religion happily took place, and gladdened the missionaries' hearts. Mr Simpson,

writing from Eimeo in August 1836, says, "During my recent visit to Tahiti, I found the queen (who had recently joined the church) engaged in the midst of a group of little girls, teaching them words of one and two syllables; and the example thus set by the first of her sex in this country will doubtless be followed by many." The Rev. H. Nott, who had recently visited England, took out with him on his return 3000 copies of the Tahitian Scriptures, granted by the British and Foreign Bible Society. In 1839, Mahine, the aged king of Huaheine, died. Mr Barff thus speaks of him :—"I visited him constantly in his sickness. The care of the soul appeared to him to be every thing. A very short time before his departure, I asked him how he felt in the prospect of death; he answered, he had a good hope through grace, that God would receive him, and he desired to depart. 'Upon whom do you build your hope of acceptance with God?' 'Upon Christ alone, the door, the way, the rock of ages, as my righteousness and strength,—how could such a sinner as Mahine find acceptance in any other way!' While we lament the loss of his example and influence, we rejoice that he was spared so long to be a blessing to the cause of Christ; for, after being led to feel the power of renewing and sanctifying grace on his heart, he spent his life in doing good to all who came within his reach."

Some years ago, a few Romish missionaries arrived at Tahiti. Seemingly aware that the government would be inimical to their purpose of proselytizing, they did not land at the principal port, where vessels usually anchor, but disembarked on the opposite side of the island. They thus violated the established law of the country, which is, "that no master or commander of a vessel shall land any passenger without special permission from the authorities." The queen and chiefs, in the exercise of their undoubted authority, repeatedly desired them to depart; but they stubbornly refused, and thus constrained the government to remove them to America, which, however, was effected without the

slightest injury to their persons or property. Two French frigates have since visited the island, exacted a fine from the defenceless inhabitants, and compelled them to receive the priestly emissaries of Rome. In a late report, the Directors of the London Missionary Society remark,—“In Tahiti, the first triumphs of Popery are yet to be achieved.”

In the most prosperous days of the mission, only a minority of the natives were “accredited members of the church of Christ;” numbers who attended the preaching of the word did not give such evidence of piety as the brethren deemed essential in candidates for admission to the Lord’s table. The novelty of Christianity has worn off; and the difference between a real conversion and a superficial excitement has of late become more prominent in the conduct of the different classes. Still there is much to cheer a pious mind; and we insert the following extracts, as illustrating the present state of affairs:—“We have just received, per Camden, seventeen of the twenty-seven cases of the Tahitian Bibles; and at no period of the mission have the people manifested a greater desire for the word of God than they do now. They bring their money with the greatest cheerfulness to purchase them; and when they are informed that they cannot be all supplied, in consequence of some having been left at Sydney, their entreaties are truly distressing.” Mr Darling, who labours at Burder’s Point, Tahiti, thus writes:—“All our weekly meetings are kept up; and we find them pleasant, and, we trust, profitable to our souls. On these occasions, I endeavour to give particular instructions on various important points of faith and practice. We have no striking revivals amongst us; but we are pleased to see a general consistency of conduct in those that make a decided profession, and one and another coming forward from time to time to join the people of God. Still there are great numbers at all the stations who continue to live in a careless manner, and only attend the services on the Sabbath.” The society has

nine stations in the Georgian group, seven in Tahiti, and two in Eimeo. In the Society Islands there are five; two of which, however, are occupied only by native teachers.*

While the gospel has thus achieved a triumph in Tahiti and the adjacent islands, its benefits have been communicated to many other groups of the Polynesian ocean. Rurutoo is about 350 miles south of Raiatea, and was ravaged by a pestilence in 1821. A chief named Aaura resolved to quit his native country; and, communicating his intentions to a friend, they embarked in their canoes, with their wives and a chosen band of attendants. After reaching Toobouai, they remained there some time, and then prepared to return home, trusting that "the plague was stayed." A storm, however, drove them out of their course, ingulfed one of the canoes, with most of its crew, and at last compelled those in the other to make for the shore at Maurua, the farthest west of the Society group. Here Aaura and his companions were kindly received, and greatly astonished at the social change which Christianity had introduced. Passing next to Raiatea, they remained there three months, in the course of which the chief, with some others, acquired a knowledge of reading and writing. The former, a man of great intelligence, was converted by the instructions of the brethren; and when, through the kindness of a British captain, he had an opportunity of returning to his native island, he expressed a desire for some teachers of the truth. Two deacons of the Raiatean church offered themselves; and their departure, being the first native-evangelists, excited great interest in the community. The missionaries remarked, "Every member of the church brought something as a testimonial of his affection: one brought a razor; another a knife; another a roll of cloth; another a few nails; some one little thing, and some another: we gave them all the elementary books we could spare, with a

* Reports of London Missionary Society, 1836-1841. Missionary Records: Tahiti.

few copies of the Tahitian Gospel of Matthew." The vessel took in tow a boat belonging to the brethren, which, in little more than a month, returned with the idols of Rurutoo ; that island having embraced the gospel. About a year afterwards, it was visited by Mears Tyerman and Bennet, who were received by the inhabitants with the utmost joy. In the chapel they beheld an interesting illustration of the triumphs of the gospel ; the spears of the warriors were converted into staves to support the balustrade of the pulpit staircase. The other islands of the Austral group have likewise embraced the evangelical faith.*

About the end of 1821, the health of Mrs Williams requiring a voyage to New South Wales, her husband took with him two native preachers, Papeiha and Vohapata, whom he intended to leave at Aitutaki, one of the Hervey group. The chief of that island promised to protect them ; and Mr Williams continued his voyage. The teachers diligently laboured to convince the islanders of the truth, but without much effect for about a year, when the presents brought to the chiefs by a vessel from Raiatea, and the death of a female relative of the king, for whom great supplication had been made to the gods, disposed the people to think more favourably of the new faith. Papeiha's eloquence persuaded them to set fire to their maraes, and lay their discarded idols at the teachers' feet.

A large chapel was now built, during the erection of which the Aitutakians were so delighted at the making of lime from coral rock, that they " white-washed their hats and native garments, and strutted about the settlement admiring each other exceedingly." A few months after, the edifice was opened by Mr Williams, who found that the social comforts of the people had even then been greatly increased. On a subsequent visit to the island, he explained to them the English mode of raising means to send the gospel to foreign

* Williams, chap. iii. Tyerman and Bennet, chap. xxiii.

countries. His audience expressed regret at having no money to employ in a similar way ; but, on being informed that the live-stock which they were in the habit of selling to masters of vessels for tools and cloth, might be converted into money, they resolved to consecrate some of their substance to their Master's cause. " Early the next morning, the squeaking of the pigs, which were receiving a particular mark in the ear for this purpose, was heard from one end of the settlement to the other." The missionary goes on to state, that before his next visit " a ship had been there, the captain of which had purchased their pigs, and paid for them most honourably ; and now, to my utter astonishment, the native treasurer put into my hands £103, partly in bills and partly in cash ! This was the first money they ever possessed, and every farthing of it was dedicated to the cause of Christ." After the native labourers had for nearly twenty years supplied the spiritual wants of Aitutaki, Mr Royle was stationed there in 1840. Our limits will not allow us to do more than mention the evangelisation of the neighbouring islands of Atiu, Mangaia, and Mauke, but we may state a few particulars respecting Rarotonga. This last was first visited by Mr Williams during the same voyage in which he dedicated the chapel at Aitutaki ; whence he conveyed some converts home, and was well received by Makea, the king. The ill-treatment, however, experienced by their wives, caused the teachers to return to the missionary's vessel ; and Papeiha, who had proved so useful in his former station, nobly volunteered to brave the dangers of the attempt to propagate the gospel. Four months afterwards, Tiberio, another native of Raiatea, arrived to co-operate with his zealous friend. When Messrs Tyerman and Bennet visited Rarotonga a year after its discovery, its whole population had renounced idolatry, and were engaged in erecting a chapel 600 feet in length. Information respecting the temporal advantages which other islands had received from the gospel contributed to produce this result. The next European who

touched there was Mr Bourne, one of the society's labourers. He observed, "Much has been said concerning the success of the gospel in Tahiti and the Society Islands; but it is not to be compared with its progress in Rarotonga. Two years ago, the Rarotongans did not know that there was such good news as the gospel. And now, I scruple not to say, that their attention to the means of grace—their regard to family and private prayer—equals whatever has been witnessed at Tahiti and the neighbouring islands. And when we look at the means, it becomes more astonishing. Two native teachers, not particularly distinguished among their own countrymen for intelligence, have been the instruments of effecting this wonderful change, and that before a single missionary had set his foot upon the island." Mr and Mrs Pitman, accompanied by Mr Williams, arrived in 1827. The latter intended to have staid only a short time; but no opportunity was afforded of leaving the island for a year, during which period he translated the Gospel of John and the Epistle to the Galatians. The people showed a great desire for improvement, following the missionaries home after the public services, and putting questions respecting the topics upon which they had been addressed. The missionary gives the following account of their manner of spending the Sabbath:—"At sunrise they held a prayer-meeting to implore the divine blessing on the engagements of the day. This they conducted entirely themselves. At nine o'clock, the congregation assembled again, when the missionary performed divine service, just as it is conducted in England,—prayer being offered, the sacred scriptures read, and hymns sung in their own beautiful language; after which, a sermon is preached to them. Prior, however, to the commencement of the service, they met in classes, of ten and twelve families each, and distributed among themselves the respective portions of the sermon which each individual should bring away; one saying, 'Mine shall be the text, and all that is said in immediate connexion with it;' another,

'I will take care of the first division;' and a third, 'I will bring home the particulars under that head!' The discourse, thus distributed, formed the subject of edifying converse at a subsequent period of the day."

The natives adopted a code of laws on the recommendation of the brethren. Polygamy was forbidden; and each convert was required to select one of his wives, and provide for the support of the rest. The king chose his youngest consort, in preference to the other two, one of whom had born him ten children. This estimable woman, by name Pivai, was deeply affected at parting with Makea, but employed herself during the period of widowhood in making garments of the best quality for that prince and her own children. At the end of four years, the wife of Tinomana, a neighbouring chief, died, and the ex-queen was united to him in marriage.

The faith of the christianized islanders was severely tried by a succession of calamities, pestilence, destructive insects, and a hurricane of awful severity. There were not wanting persons who, like the ancient heathens, whose calumnies are refuted by contemporary authors, ascribed these evils to the reception of the gospel; but their feeling was by no means the prevalent one. The chastening hand of God humbled and sanctified many. There are now three European and two native preachers in Rarotonga; but the death of Makea, its king, was announced in the Report for 1840. Through the liberality of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 5000 copies of the New Testament, in the native dialect, have been sent out for distribution in the Hervey Islands. A missionary institution has been formed in the district of Avarua, of which Mr Buzacott thus writes:—"In drawing up a system of divinity, I have followed Dr Bogue, and have translated nearly the half of his lectures into the Rarotongan language, a copy of which each student has written for himself. As it has been thought desirable that the young men should, in addition to their theological studies, receive instruction in some

branches of art, with a view to enabling them to support themselves, four hours each day are given to manual labour. They are at present learning to make sofas, chairs, boxes, &c. They are also engaged in constructing bed-frames, tables, and stools, to furnish the new-built cottages, in which we expect them to take up their residence in a few weeks. It affords me much pleasure to add, that their progress in each department of knowledge gives great satisfaction."

The Paumotu group, or Dangerous Archipelago, was evangelized by some persons who had fled to Tahiti from the fury of war, and on their return home communicated the gospel to their countrymen. Teachers have been sent from the Georgian Islands; but the people, among whom no European labourer has resided, are still in a very imperfect state of social culture.*

* Williams' Missionary Enterprises. Reports of the London Missionary Society, 1840, 1841.

CHAPTER XIV.

Missions to Polynesia continued.

Sandwich Islands—King Rihoriho—He abolishes Idolatry, and overcomes the Pagan Party—American Mission—Letter of the King to England—Keopuolani, a royal Convert—Rihoriho visits Britain, and dies—His Brother succeeds—Rebellion suppressed—Results of Intercourse with Europeans—Karaimoku—Hawaiian Palace and Chapel—Kahumahu—Present State of Affairs—Friendly Islands—Samoaan Group—Marquesas—New Hebrides—Murder of Mr Williams—Missions established—New Zealand—Church and Wesleyan Missionary Societies—Progress of the Gospel and Demand for the Scriptures—Concluding Remarks. *

THE Sandwich Islands were discovered by Captain Cook in January 1778, during his third voyage, and were named after the nobleman who at that time filled the office of First Lord of the Admiralty. They were visited by various other navigators in subsequent years. These islands are ten in number, but two are uninhabited; and the largest, Hawaii, comprehends an area of 4000 square miles. When they were first made known, the four principal ones, Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, and Tanai, were governed by separate and independent princes; but, some years afterwards, Tamehameha, originally a chief of inferior rank, possessing only one or two districts in Hawaii, subjected to his sway not merely that island but the rest of the group. The excellent harbour of Honoruru in Oahu, and the export of sandal-wood to the Chinese market, soon attracted many European vessels. Early in the present century,

the natives began occasionally to embark as seamen in foreign ships ; and, in this manner, some made their way to the United States. Among these was Obukahaia, who landed at New York in 1809, and was struck with the vast superiority of the Americans, as compared with his countrymen, derived from civilisation and Christianity. Discovering his ardent desire for knowledge, a gentleman of intelligence and piety received him as a private pupil. He became a true convert to the evangelical faith, and began to qualify himself for returning to his own land as a teacher of the gospel.

The character of the islander was reported to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who immediately established a school at Cornwall, Connecticut ; the object of which was to communicate to persons in similar circumstances a suitable education. Obukahaia and some others of his countrymen were entered on this foundation ; but, to the regret of all who knew him, he died, before completing his course of instruction, in February 1818.

The circumstances now related occasioned a great interest in the Sandwich Islands ; and, in the autumn of 1819, a company of missionaries in connexion with the society previously mentioned, set sail from Boston for that group. It consisted of the Rev. Messrs Bingham and Thurston, with two teachers, a physician, a printer, an agriculturist, and four islanders, one of whom, George Tamoree, was son of Taumarii, chief of Tauai. They landed at Kairua in Hawaii, in February 1820 ; and the first words which reached their ears were, " The gods of Hawaii are no more ! Tamehameha is dead ! Rihoriho is king. The taboo is abolished, and the temples and idols are destroyed." Tamehameha had died the year before, after a long and prosperous reign ; and his son marked the very commencement of his rule by the abolition of paganism. He was probably influenced to this remarkable step by his knowledge of the contempt shown by foreigners for his religion, and of the change which had been effected among the

cognate people of the Society Islands.* The occasion of his abolishing the national superstition was well selected. He gave a great entertainment in November 1819, to which all the foreigners resident on the island, and a large body of chiefs, were invited. In conformity with the regulations of the taboo, which forbade the women to partake of the best kinds of food, or to eat along with the men, two tables were spread, one for each sex. After the provisions had been served up, and the company seated, he took in his hand a portion of the food denied to females, and went to the women's table, where he placed himself between two of his queens, and began to eat with them from the same dish. At this the astonished multitude exclaimed, "Ai noa! Ai noa!" (Common food! Common food!) As had been previously concerted, the high priest at that moment seized a firebrand, with which he rushed to an adjoining temple, and set it on fire. The work thus begun was executed with celerity and vigour. In a few days the maraes were every where destroyed; and those idols which did not share the same fate were preserved merely as objects of curiosity. The overruling providence of God may surely be traced in these remarkable proceedings of a barbarous despot, whose arbitrary power was in this instance exerted to a beneficial end. There was still, however, a party devoted to the ancient superstition; and at their head soon placed himself Kekuao-kalani, first cousin to the king, who aspired to the throne. The priests assuring him of victory, he engaged

* Several natives who had visited foreign countries had thus learned indifference to their ancestral faith. A youth named Joseph Banks, after Captain Cook's scientific companion, was in the habit of attacking in conversation the idolatry from which the other lands he had seen were free. One day, when thus employed, a priest affirmed that if the maraes were forsaken, there would be no rain, and every thing would be burnt up. After quoting, in answer to the sacerdotal harangue, the cases of England, America, and the christianized districts of Polynesia, Banks thus concluded: "Why should not rain fall and the ground produce food here as well as elsewhere, when these senseless things are done away!"

in a civil war ; and the two armies met in the field ; the royal troops being led by Karaimoku, a chief of rank, and uncle to the pagan general. He endeavoured to negotiate with his misguided relative ; but all offers were rejected, and the envoy was obliged to jump into the sea and swim to save his life. The battle was fiercely contested ; but at last the royal forces gained the superiority, and drove their opponents before them. Kekuaokalani, though he had received a wound in the early part of the conflict, still continued to fight, and rallied his forces at a place called Tuarua. For a moment the fortune of the day seemed again to waver, when loss of blood caused the rebel leader to faint and fall. Soon reviving, but being unable to stand, he sat down on a fragment of lava, where he continued to fire on the advancing army. He now received a ball in his left breast, and, covering his face with his feather cloak, expired in the midst of his friends. His wife Manono, who during the whole day had fought valiantly by his side, was soon after killed by a shot through her temple. An oblong pile of stones marks the place where the hapless pair were interred. The death of their commander destroyed the last hopes of the idolatrous party, who were now constrained to acquiesce in the new order of things.

Some preliminary difficulties being removed, a number of the missionaries were settled at Kairua, in Hawaii, and the others in Oahu. Shortly afterwards, however, two brethren, with their wives, removed to Tauai, in consequence of an invitation from the king of that island, to whom they carried back his son. One of the first arrangements at each station was to form a school, composed both of adults and children ; the kings and chiefs being among the first to attend, and the most eager to learn. Rihoriho, however, was often incapacitated for instruction by intemperance. In the following year, a commodious chapel was erected for divine service, and opened upon the 15th of September. The missionaries exerted themselves to fix the orthography of the lan-

guage, and prepare elementary books in it. Many of the people began to read and write; and short portions of the Bible were circulated in manuscript. Mr Ellis, who visited the Sandwich Islands about this time, in the company of Messrs Tyerman and Bennet, the deputation from the London Missionary Society, preached to the natives in the Tahitian tongue, which was tolerably well understood by them. He likewise composed some hymns, which were sung in the chapel. The arrival of these gentlemen, and the conversation of the Georgian Islanders by whom they were attended, contributed greatly to remove some prejudices which were entertained against the missionaries by the king and chiefs. Being solicited by his majesty to return, Mr Ellis left the Society group, and took up his residence at Oahu, where he commenced his labours in perfect harmony with the American brethren.

Shortly after his arrival, Rihoriho, or, as he styled himself, Tamehameha II., wrote a letter to the directors of the Missionary Society, from which the following is an extract:—"Ours is a land of dark hearts. Had you not compassionated us, even now we should be quite dark. But no; you have compassionated us, and we are enlightened. We are praying to God, and we are listening to the word of our salvation. We also hold the sacred day of Jehovah, the Sabbath, which is one good thing that we have obtained—one good thing that we have lately known to be a temporal good. Mr Ellis is come here to this place; we desired his coming; we rejoice. He is teaching us, that we may all be saved."*

In April 1823, a reinforcement of clerical and lay missionaries arrived from America. Shortly afterwards, the Rev. Messrs Stewart and Richards were sent to found a new mission in the island of Maiu, whither they were invited by Keopuolani, the king's mother. They found their station a highly promising field of useful-

* Stewart's Residence in the Sandwich Islands. Ellis' Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. Tyerman and Bennet, vol. i.

ness. No native, however, appeared to derive more benefit than their royal patroness, who, being the descendant of the ancient rulers of Hawaii, was considered the greatest chief in the islands. Her age was advanced; and she feared that death would cut her off before she had become savingly acquainted with the truth. In this she was mistaken; and, though she did not long survive, the rapid progress which she made in the divine life strikingly displayed the sovereignty of God, and attested the efficacy of the gospel. Mr Stewart remarks, that "the rejection of every practice which she discovered to be inconsistent with the principles of Christianity—an irreproachable external deportment—a cheerful and rigid compliance with every observance of our religion—the habit of constant secret prayer, of regular family worship with her household, and strong attachment to the services of the day of God—her proclamations among the people against their former vices, and her rebuke of sin when detected; all confirmed us in a belief of the sincerity of her attachment to Christianity, expressed in her daily conversations." The brethren hoped that she would be spared to countenance their labours; but God had decreed otherwise, and they, with the members of her family, were soon called to enjoy the sad privilege of seeing the royal believer die. A native teacher said, on the morning of the day when she expired, "How do you feel, now that you are about to die?" She replied, "I remember what my teachers told me. I pray much to Jesus Christ to be with me, and take me to himself. I am now about to leave my children, my people, and my teachers. But it is not dark now; it would have been had I died before these good times. You must pray for me; and all the missionaries must pray for me. I love you; I love them; and I think I love Jesus Christ. I trust he will receive me." Her funeral was conducted in a European way, and the former heathen customs were abandoned.

The mission at Kairua in Hawaii, which had been inter-

rupted, was now resumed ; and, in the substantial chapel soon erected, the brethren had a congregation of 600 hearers. Not long after, the king with his queen set out on a voyage to England, which he had determined to visit, in order to obtain an acquaintance with the laws, usages, and institutions of that country. He was accompanied by several of his subjects, particularly by Boki, governor of Oahu, and Lilihah, his wife. These strangers excited great interest in the metropolis, and on every occasion evinced the utmost propriety of conduct : but after a short residence, most of the party caught the measles, which proved fatal to the royal pair. Their deaths occurred in July 1824 ; Tamehameha II. being scarcely thirty when he expired. His natural disposition was frank and kind ; and he had shown himself a diligent pupil of the missionaries, studying frequently the whole day. Mr Ellis says,—“ I have sat beside him at his desk sometimes from nine or ten o'clock in the morning till nearly sunset, during which period his pen or his book has not been out of his hand more than three quarters of an hour, while he was at dinner.” It is not known, however, that Christianity exerted any saving influence on his heart. His queen, Kamehamaru, was a very amiable person, the warm friend of the missionaries, and unfailing patroness of their labours. Riho-riho left a younger brother, Kahikeouli, about ten years of age, who succeeded without opposition, assuming the name of Tamehameha III. Karaimoku, the prime-minister of the two former kings, to whom foreigners gave the name of William Pitt, was the chief person among the members of the regency appointed by Riho-riho to act during his absence, and continued to officiate after his death.

Shortly afterwards, Mr Stewart thus mentioned the state of affairs :—“ The young king, and every chief of importance, have regular family worship with their respective households morning and evening, never take a meal without thanksgiving, observe the Sabbath with becoming propriety, attend the stated religious instruc-

tions, and studiously avoid every kind of amusement and pastime not consistent with strict sobriety and christian decorum. Their whole minds, and their whole time, seem given to efforts of self-improvement ; and so far from becoming weary, their desire, both of common and religious knowledge, seems to grow with their application."

While the late king was absent in England, Taumarii, former chief of Tauai, died ; having for some years been kept in a sort of dignified captivity by the sovereign of the group. He had given great satisfaction to the missionaries by his christian deportment ; and died, as there is every reason to believe, with a well-grounded hope of eternal life. His example had been a general benefit, and his departure was mourned as a public loss. By will, he left the island of Tauai to Karaimoku, in trust for the king ; but his son, whom we have previously had occasion to mention as being brought back from America by the missionaries, was dissatisfied with this arrangement, and engaged in a civil war. This contest broke out on the 8th of August, which, either by accident or design, was the Sabbath. The rebels were repulsed in their attack upon the fort at Naimea, without much loss on either side ; and the reinforcements which were sent to the royal troops enabled them to quell the insurrection. The rebel leader was taken prisoner, and treated with kindness by Karaimoku. In the days of heathenism, his capture would have been immediately followed by his death. While the missionaries were thankful to God for the blessing which he had vouchsafed on their labours, they were much grieved by the obstacles thrown in the way by profligate Europeans and Americans, who hated them on account of their opposition to vice. The labourer at Lahaina was only preserved by the protection of armed natives from the fury of some English sailors ; while the conduct of the officers and crew belonging to the American schooner Dolphin was so discreditable, that the vessel was afterwards denominated by the natives "the mischief-making

man-of-war." The evil example of foreigners was not without effect on the islanders ; and, in the course of 1826, a number of the people, led by some of the chiefs, relapsed into the vices formerly prevalent among them, adding some additional kinds of wickedness borrowed from more civilized nations. Horse-racing, gambling, and drunkenness, became far from uncommon. The gospel, however, continued to make progress. In the following January, it was ascertained that no fewer than 300 persons in Oahu were under instruction.

In February 1827, the mission sustained a great loss in the death of Karaimoku, which took place at Kaima. Mr Bingham thus delineated his character :—" The consistency of his life with what he knew of the requirements of the word of God ; his steady and operative friendship for the missionaries, and his earnest endeavours to promote the cause of instruction and religious improvement among the people ; his constancy in attending the worship of God ; his firmness in resisting temptation ; his faithfulness in reproofing sin ; his patience in suffering ; his calm and steady hope of heaven, through the atonement of Christ, to whom he had, as he said, given up himself, heart, and soul, and body ; all combine to give him a happy title not only to the name of Christian, but to that most honourable distinction of rulers upon earth, ' a nursing-father in Zion.' "

A considerable reinforcement of missionaries arrived at the islands in the beginning of 1828. Shortly afterwards, it was found that, in a population of about 37,000, 12,956 were attending the schools. Institutions were formed for the religious edification of the people. " Of these societies, which met weekly, the members engaged to lead sober and moral lives, to attend diligently upon the means of grace, to observe the duty of secret and family prayer, and to pursue the course of moral and religious improvement." It may be mentioned as an interesting fact, that the first convert at Kairua was Kakupaohi, who had been one of the wives of the king that reigned when Captain Cook visited the islands.

She was nearly eighty years of age when she first heard the glad tidings of salvation. The missionaries were subjected to some temporary alarm from the establishment of a Roman Catholic mission in Oahu ; but it never took root there ; and, after existing by sufferance a year or two, was broken up by the native authorities, who sent the persons composing it to the coast of California. The removal was effected without violence, and all their property was carefully preserved to them. We regret to state that a repetition of the outrage committed by French seamen against the government of Tahiti was perpetrated here.

Mr Stewart, who had left the islands in 1825, visited them four years after, as the chaplain of a vessel belonging to the navy of the United States. We insert, as an evidence of the social improvement of the islands, his description of the room in which he was received by the king :—" The floor is a novelty, and an experiment here ; consisting, in place of the ground strewn with rushes or grass, as a foundation for the mats, as was formerly the case, of a pavement of stone and mortar, spread with a cement of lime, having all the smoothness and hardness of marble. Upon this beautifully variegated mats of tauai were spread, forming a carpet as delightful and appropriate to the climate as could have been selected. Large windows on either side, and the folding-doors of glass at each end, are hung with draperies of crimson damask ; besides which, and the mats on the floors, the furniture consists of handsome pier-tables and large mirrors ; of a line of glass chandeliers suspended through the centre, with lustres and candelabra of bronze, ornamented *or mahu*, affixed to the pillars lining the sides and ends of the apartment ; and of portraits in oil of the late king and queen, taken in London, placed at the upper end, in carved frames richly gilt." He thus speaks of the chapel then erecting at Lahaina :—" It is of stone, ninety-eight feet long and sixty-two broad, two stories in height, to be furnished with galleries, and calculated to afford seats

for 3000 hearers. The walls are finished, and the roof nearly in readiness to be placed upon them. It is pleasantly situated near the finest grove of cocoa-nut trees in the district; has been erected exclusively at the expense of the governor and chiefs of Maiu; and, when completed, will be the most substantial and noble structure in the Polynesian Islands." Captain Finch, in whose ship Mr Stewart sailed, carried a letter to the king, written by the secretary to the United States Navy, in name of the President, John Quincy Adams. It contained the following sentences, well worthy the head of a christian government:—"The President has heard with interest and admiration of the rapid progress which has been made by your people in acquiring a knowledge of letters and of the true religion—the religion of the Christian's Bible. These are the best, and the only means, by which the prosperity and happiness of nations can be advanced and continued; and the President, and all men every where who wish well to yourself and your people, earnestly hope that you will continue to cultivate them, and to protect and encourage those by whom they are brought to you."

In June 1831, a third body of missionaries arrived at the islands. About the same time, it was resolved to commence a seminary for the instruction of native teachers and catechists. Two presses were now in active operation, and thus the brethren had the means of disseminating the scriptures and religious tracts. A number of chiefs and others assembled at Honoruru, for the purpose of forming a national temperance society; about a thousand names were immediately enrolled. The resolutions were, in substance, "that the subscribers would neither drink ardent spirits for pleasure, deal in them for gain, engage in distilling them, offer them to any one as an act of civility, nor give them to workmen on account of their labour." Other bands of evangelistic labourers now arrived from the United States.

On the 5th of June 1832, the queen-regent, Kaahumanu, was removed by death, in her fifty-ninth year.

She had long been the kind supporter of the mission. The last sheet of the New Testament was completed during her sickness, and an entire copy of the sacred volume was presented to her; but she was no longer able to read. After surveying it attentively, she emphatically pronounced it 'Maitai' (excellent), then wrapped it carefully in her handkerchief, laid it upon her bosom, gently clasped her hands over it, and looked upwards, as if it were a passport to that immortal life with which it had made her joyfully acquainted. On her death, the king took the reins of government into his own hand. His example, unfortunately, was not so edifying as it ought to have been; and in consequence there was a season of degeneracy among all classes. In consideration of this state of things, a public fast was proclaimed by Kinau, on the 3d of March 1833, on which occasion about 2000 persons attended public worship at Honoruru, both morning and afternoon. In the following year, a marked improvement was discernible in all the islands. The brethren established a religious newspaper, which was conducted by one of their number. According to the latest accounts, there were in the Sandwich Islands sixteen stations, twenty-three missionaries, one physician; the twelve christian churches contained 749 members. In one year, there had been issued twenty publications, chiefly quarto or duodecimo; the number of copies was 118,728. During the same period, 1546 marriages were celebrated. A new edition of 10,000 copies of the New Testament was required. Three of the brethren directed their attention to the management of a seminary, which they called the high school, attended by upwards of a hundred pupils. Their studies were geography, arithmetic, trigonometry, and composition in their own language; the rudiments of Greek were taught to a select class.*

* Stewart's Residence in the Sandwich Islands, and Voyage to the South Seas. Missionary Records: Sandwich Islands.

After their first attempt to carry the gospel to the Friendly Islands had failed, the London Missionary Society sent native labourers thither, who, however, were induced to relinquish their toils in favour of the Wesleyans. These missionaries thus had a settlement prepared for them, a commodious chapel, with the king and three or four hundred people professing Christianity, and ready to receive them kindly. Mr Williams, who, with his colleague Mr Barff, agreed to leave the Fijees to the methodists, while they themselves directed their attention to the Navigators' Islands, thus remarks upon the expediency of every society having a distinct sphere of labour among a heathen people :—"Much as I should rejoice in being associated with an episcopalian, a baptist, or a methodist brother, who did not attach primary importance to secondary objects, yet the interests of every mission, especially in the early stages of its progress, seem to me to require another line of conduct. The natives, though comprehending but very imperfectly our objects, would at once discern a difference in our modes of worship, and their attention would of necessity be divided and distracted. Being also of an inquisitive disposition, they would demand a reason for every little deviation, which would lead to explanations, first from the one party and then from the other ; and thus evils would arise which otherwise might never have existed." The Tonga language is far from being so mellifluous as the Tahitian. The Wesleyan missionaries, as well as the Americans in the Sandwich Islands, and the Church of England brethren in New Zealand, have adopted the plan of giving christian names to those whom they baptize. They have employed their printing-press in disseminating the scriptures and tracts among the people.

In 1830, Mr Williams established native teachers at the Samoa or Navigators' Islands. As they obtained considerable success in their labours, it was deemed proper by the directors of the London Society to send thither

European teachers ; and accordingly six brethren were despatched. They had three stations allotted to them, and found about 23,000 people professing Christianity. Soon afterwards, the captain of a vessel stated to Mr Williams at Sydney, " that it was of no use to take muskets and powder to the Samoan group ; that nothing was demanded by the people but missionaries, books, pens, ink, slates, and paper ; and that the work was going on with unprecedented success." A large number of tracts and portions of the Bible were conveyed to the mission by Messrs Barff and Buzacott. According to the last report of the society, there were fourteen Europeans in their service, of whom four were laymen. Although the work of evangelisation is unquestionably making progress, yet the number of church members is not large, there being only eighty-seven at one station and thirty-three at another. One missionary writes,— " There are three things which have powerfully arrested my attention, as evincing the great moral effect produced upon the Samoan nation : 1. Their general decorum in regard to the outward observances of religion, as well as in dress and manners ; 2. The great multitude of persons who have learned, and are learning, to read and write ; and, 3. The mental development and intellectual activity of a numerous class of inquirers, chiefly young men." A Samoan press has recently been put into operation, under the superintendence of Mr Stair. A *Life of Christ*, some elementary works, and a periodical called the *Sulu Samoa*, or *Samoa Magazine*, have been issued. At the station of Pagnopagno, an extensive revival of religion is stated to have occurred.

In the Marquesas group the London Society has two labourers, whose station is Tahuata, or Santa Christina. They have procured the erection of a number of school-houses, dwellings, and places of worship ; and, in addition to preaching and conversation, are endeavouring to introduce a scriptural system of education. The progress hitherto made has been small, and the efforts of the

brethren are opposed by the proceedings of some Romish priests, who have established themselves at Tahuata and the adjoining island of Unkuhiua.

After a lengthened term of service in various parts of Polynesia, Mr Williams returned to England in 1834, where he published the volume to which we have already referred. Five years afterwards, he set sail in the Camden, with a party of missionaries destined for different parts of the South Seas. After visiting several of the stations, he proceeded to the New Hebrides, with the intention of leaving native teachers in that group. On the 20th of November 1839, he was murdered by the people of Erromanga, and his companion, Mr Harris, shared the same fate; the deluded islanders imagining that their benevolent visitors had landed with hostile intentions. On the arrival of the intelligence at Sydney, Sir George Gipps, the governor of the colony, despatched her Majesty's ship *Favourite* to the spot, in order to obtain, if possible, the remains of the martyred brethren. By a negotiation, a few relics of these lamented individuals were recovered, and interred with due solemnity in one of the Samoa Islands, on the 31st of March 1840. Shortly afterwards, the missionaries there held a consultation about the best means of prosecuting their departed brother's designs. "This," as we are informed by a witness, "was a meeting of great solemnity; all seemed willing to risk their lives for their Saviour. Mr Heath was on various accounts deemed most suitable; and he accepted the office on three conditions—one of which was, that if he also should be cut off, another should take his place and prosecute the enterprise. Thus do these men put their life in their hand in the cause of God. It is easy to talk of the thing at a distance, but it assumes a stern reality when one visits the field, and sees what is the nature of the work." The gentleman thus selected visited the New Hebrides, and formed five new stations, one of which was at Erromanga, where we hope that ere long will be seen again verified the words of the

ancient apologist,*—"The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." Two European labourers have been recently sent out.†

In 1809, the Church Missionary Society formed a station in New Zealand; and the first labourers were Messrs Kendall, Hall, and King. They purchased a tract of 200 acres on the Bay of Islands, paying for it only a dozen of axes. The object of the brethren was to introduce the arts of civilisation, as well as the spiritual blessings of Christianity. The natives, like other savages, could not without difficulty be persuaded to submit to the labour necessary to enable them to profit by the instructions of the Europeans. The missionaries, however, persevered, and had at last the gratification of witnessing a great social and spiritual change, the fruit of their assiduous exertions. A visit was paid to several of the stations a year or two ago by the Bishop of Australia, who expressed himself highly satisfied with the posture of affairs. He thus writes of the natives,—“They are of a joyous yet reflective turn, pleased to be instructed; humble in listening to exhortation; very quick and ingenious in tracing the analogies of religion by comparing spiritual things with spiritual; amenable, apparently, to the use of those outward forms which are necessary to conduct all things with decency and order; yet sensible, so far as I could judge, that these did not form the substance of religion. Some of them, I think, are deeply and unfeignedly devout; such I noticed particularly at the Kanakaua and Maraeti, though I ought by no means to deny the occurrence of proportionate instances at the other stations.” He, at the same time, eulogizes the characters and lives of the missionaries; but laments that indolence, filth, covetousness, and even duplicity, are to be found among those who profess to have embraced the gospel. No fewer than 30,000 natives are at present

* Tertullian.

† Williams' Missionary Enterprises. Reports of London Missionary Society.

receiving instruction from the Church of England missionaries. The New Testament and Liturgy have been translated into the language of New Zealand. The eagerness shown by the people for the word of God is remarkable and instructive. The Rev. R. Taylor, in March 1839, observes, that "it was an interesting sight to see the natives wading and swimming through the shallow sea which separated them from us: they certainly were not altogether like doves flying to the windows, but like ducks swimming to their places of rest; the sea, dotted with a hundred or two of them, presented a singular appearance; and the reflection that these poor heathen were coming to be fed with the bread of life, led to the prayer that some at least of the good seed might fall upon good ground, and so not be lost." Some months afterwards, another clergyman states that "the scriptures are with us almost as scarce and as valuable as they were in England in the days of Henry the Eighth. The demand for them and prayer-books is much greater than we can supply; and many a person have we been obliged to send away disappointed, after he had spent a good part of a day, and much importunity, in seeking for a copy." In reference to the arrival of Romish emissaries, the Rev. A. N. Brown remarks,—“I feel persuaded that the papists will gain little with many of these natives, unless the priests can point to scripture in confirmation of what they advance. Nor will the perversions of a few texts avail them; for the natives will search for themselves whether these things are so. They devote much time to reading the New Testament—‘the best book,’ as Burkitt quaintly remarks, ‘that was ever written against Popery.’”

The Wesleyans have for several years had a mission in the same country, which has been attended with considerable success. In consequence of an application recently made to the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, that body have resolved to print an edition of 20,000 Testaments, to be divided between

the two societies which maintain missionaries in New Zealand.*

We have thus attempted to trace the history of missions in the various heathen countries to which in modern times the gospel has been sent. The narrative is calculated to excite feelings of deep admiration for the zeal, laboriousness, and self-denial, exhibited by the heralds of the truth. The results of their toils have not been uniformly pleasing: some missions have been abandoned, and others have yielded a very scanty return. Yet, on the other hand, there have been not a few instances of success so great that they may well silence the scoffer and put the sceptic to shame. The whole face of things has been altered; and the most superficial observer cannot fail to remark the change. The savage has become a meek and humble convert; his idols have been destroyed, or preserved only as historical monuments; his weapons have been laid aside, and in some cases turned to the uses of peace; the war-song has given place to the christian hymn; the gluttonous feast and the lascivious dance have been succeeded by pious meetings for the worship of Jehovah; whole tribes have been led to rejoice in a social and spiritual renovation. The human instruments have been various. As in the primitive church the learning of Paul and the eloquence of Apollos were blessed to the conversion of souls, as well as the untutored and probably undistinguished talents of the Galilean fishermen; so, in modern times, we have seen a Martyn and a Duff cheerfully labouring in a field where the great majority of their coadjutors were far inferior in mental gifts and acquirements. But, while thus they have differed in intellect, as well as in country, language, and physical powers, the ambassadors of the cross have been

* Brown's History of Missions. Church of England Magazine, vol. viii. Monthly Extracts from the Correspondence of the Bible Society, 1840-1841.

united by the highest and holiest of ties. They were animated by unanimity of sacred feelings; they acted as those who knew that God accepts no services but such as have his glory for their aim, and love to Christ for their motive. They went forth on their arduous career as men who remembered that they had a great work to do, and a gracious Master to serve. Sensible that, without God's blessing, human words are but empty breath, and mortal efforts merely unavailing labour, they lived in the spirit of constant and believing prayer. They might differ on minor points; but they harmonized in proclaiming that the gospel teaches two great lessons,—pardoning mercy and sanctifying grace. Too humble for legalism, too holy for antinomianism, they declared that man is justified by faith, but judged by works: and, wherever conversion succeeded their instructions and gladdened their hearts, they did not fail to ascribe it to the full and faithful display of the peculiar doctrines of the New Testament. Their feelings were shared by their converts; and the christian experience of many regenerated heathens has fully evinced the efficacy of the preaching of the cross.

While the success of missions has convincingly shown the futility of the assertion that pagans could not be evangelized without the aid of miracles, their reflex influence has proved that the evangelistic enterprise is not hostile to other plans of christian benevolence. "The present is the very era of missions;"* yet we may safely affirm, that at no former period were there such efforts made, especially in our own country, for the moral and social as well as spiritual welfare of man.

"An ardent spirit dwells with christian love;"

and if a new course for her bounty has been opened, the other channels have not therefore been filled with a less abundant stream.

Although the believer rejoices to learn the success

* Robert Hall.

which has attended missionary labours, he must nevertheless feel that this ought to operate as a stimulant to renewed exertion. If the prayers of the church have been previously well directed, there is every reason why they should be increased ; if the contributions of the faithful have been hitherto successfully applied, there is only the greater cause why they should be augmented ; and, by means of the succours derived from a pious liberality, conjoined with the experience to which every year is adding, we may hope that greater progress will ere long be made, and the hearts of Christians gladdened by the signs of a nearer approach to the moral aspect of that time, when "the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea."

THE END.

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